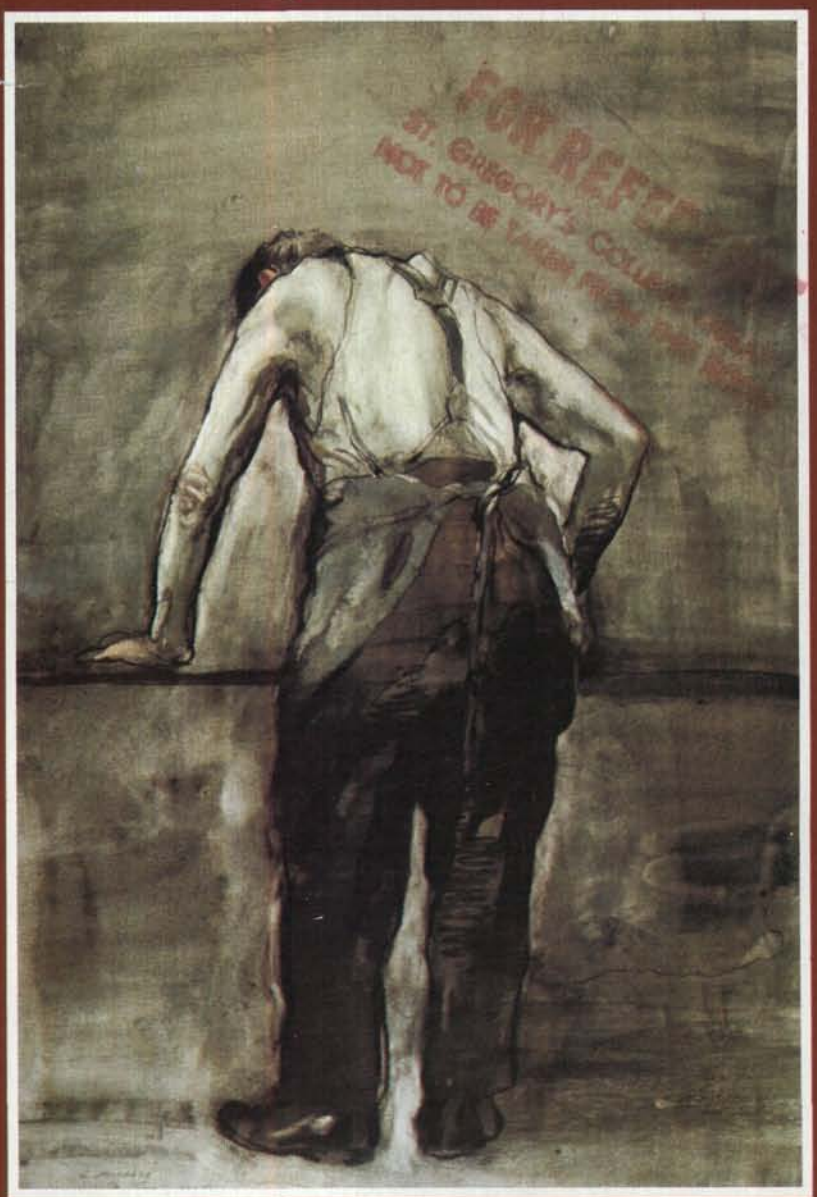
Presidents Under Fire • Third World Guilt Trip

Before the Great War • Albee's 'Lolita' • Nuclearectomy

THE NEW REPUBLIC

April 11, 1981 Price $1.25

Working-Class Heroes



by Irving Howe

FOR REFERENCE
ST. GREGORY'S COLLEGE LIBRARY
NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

AMR*EE 190 W*MI2 14 NP DEC8 3
MR EUGENE MARSHALL
ST. GREGORY'S COLLEGE
1900 W. MACARTHUR
SHAWNEE OK 74801

LICENSED FOR USE ONLY
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Marlboro Lights

The spirit of Marlboro in a low tar cigarette.

Also available in King Size Flip-Top® box.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Lights & Lights 100's: 12 mg "tar," 0.8 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Dec.'79. Box: 12 mg "tar," 0.8 mg nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC Method.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB

from Washington
April 11, 1981

Sickness in America

The electronic detector on the American Airlines flight at Nashville, Tennessee, revealed the three handguns and ammunition in the passenger's baggage, and he was arrested, charged with a misdemeanor, and fined $50 for carrying a gun within city limits, plus $12.50 court costs. He was released after posting bond. Four days later at Rocky's Pawn Shop in Dallas he priced two snub-nosed .22-caliber revolvers—mean little weapons—from Rocky Goldstein, the proprietor. "Guns Don't Cause Crime Any More Than Flies Cause Garbage" a sticker said on the door.

"Driver's license?" asked Rocky in the identification check. "Use narcotics?" he continued in the prescribed routine. "Ever been in jail? No? A mental institution? No? All right then, the guns are yours, $47 each." Five months later he asked defensively, "How did I know he wanted to kill the president?"

On March 30 the police sirens screamed in Washington, three men lay on the streets, the radio went wild, Ronald Reagan was whisked to the hospital, America was convulsed, and passionate voices instantly cried that somebody do something right away to prevent "them" from ruining the country. Fortunately the president seemed like he would pull through. He made gallant jokes before surgery. He signed bills the next day. It was sad about Press Secretary Jim Brady, of course, with a hole in his head, and about the Secret Service man and the cop. But, see, this is the 10th presidential assassination, or attempt, since Andrew Jackson in 1835, and the country has come through it pretty well, hasn't it? Let's have another crime commission, perhaps (there were four between 1947 and 1973), and go on to other matters. The nation is bigger than we are.

I think this is the probable course we will follow, but I loathe it. I hope something is finally done. I think there is something sick about America. The sickness is that the public wants a particular course of action in connection with firearms and gun murders, and can't get it. It is a failure of democracy. But before I come to that let me update the tables that I first compiled in this column on February 10, 1979 (after an incident on the South Lawn of the White House where a couple of demonstrators, pretending to be reporters, might have killed President Carter before our eyes).

The first table, updated from Robert Sherrill's ghoulish study, *The Saturday Night Special*, shows how cheap it is to kill a president:

Booth shot Lincoln with a .44 Derringer	$15.00
Guiteau killed Garfiend with a .44 revolver	10.00
Czolgosz used a 5-shot .32 to kill McKinley	4.50
Oswald's mail-order carbine against Kennedy (plus $1.50 postage)	21.45
Hinckley's .22 rim fire	47.00

(Oswald got his murder gun from an advertisement in the *American Rifleman*, published by the National Rifle Association, the powerful lobby against gun control. Gun advertising brings a lucrative income from its million members.)

The other table is a grisly list of presidential assassinations and attempts, starting with America's first:

Andrew Jackson, 1835—attempt
Abraham Lincoln, 1865—killed
James Garfield, 1881—killed
William McKinley, 1901—killed
Theodore Roosevelt, 1912, ex-president—wounded
Franklin Roosevelt, 1933—attempt (Mayor Cermak killed)
Harry Truman, 1950—attempt
John Kennedy, 1963—killed (Robert Kennedy later killed)
Gerald Ford, 1975—two attempts
Ronald Reagan, 1981—wounded

How we would scorn that list if it concerned a Latin American republic! Other successful democracies don't have a record like that. But this indeed is the USA. . . . It's us. In summary, of the 33 men who have held the presidency since 1835 there have been murder attempts on 10, and four succeeded.

If there is one thing that stands out in the studies of American crimes of violence it is that our rate is highest of any modern nation and that we alone don't control handguns. I have followed crime commissions since George Wickersham's. There were five from 1967-73, headed by Nicholas Katzenbach, Otto Kerner, Milton Eisenhower, Edmund Brown, and Russell Peterson. All advocated gun control. There are 60 million handguns now privately held in America, it is believed, with two million more added yearly. Chief Justice Warren Burger told the American Bar Association on February 8 that America's "capability of maintaining elementary security in the streets, in schools, and in the homes of the people, is in doubt." On March 23 *Time* and *Newsweek* both featured menacing pictures of handguns on their covers. The FBI has just issued preliminary figures on major crimes of violence in 1980. Foreigners just can't grasp them. In 1979 there was a murder every 24 minutes. The new report says that major crime in 1980 took its biggest jump in five years: seven percent increase in murders, 20 percent in robberies.

So that's the story. Why doesn't Congress ban handguns? It is afraid. It is afraid of the National Rifle Association, which is able to whip up a snowstorm of protest from its paranoiac members who, because they like to hunt and fish, by some involuted reasoning oppose registration of handguns in big cities. Milton Eisenhower complained of "vitriolic mail" instigated by "the rich and politically powerful National Rifle Association" when he led a crusade for control. And now comes a new battle, I suspect, prompted by national anger at the attack on President Reagan. Ironically, Reagan himself has been a vigorous opponent of federal gun control.

Correction: Last week's column said, "No president has been reelected since 1956." The words "save Mr. Nixon" were omitted.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 184, No. 15, Issue 3457, April 11, 1981. Published weekly (except the issues of January 3, July 11, August 8, August 29) and distributed by The New Republic, Inc., 1220 19th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036. Phone (202) 331-7494. Single copy, $1.25; yearly subscriptions, $28; foreign, $35; students, $17.

Copyright 1981 by The New Republic, Inc. (ISSN 0028-6583). Item g. Second-class postage paid at Washington, DC and additional mailing offices. Indexed in Readers' Guide and Media Review Digest. The New Republic is available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

Send all remittances, inquiries about subscriptions and undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Service Department, The New Republic, P.O. Box 955, Farmingdale, N.Y. 11737.

Unsolicited manuscripts are welcome, but cannot be considered or returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

Cover: David Levine, "Presser," 1965. Copyright David Levine 1965. Courtesy of Forum Gallery. Article on page 28.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

A Renaissance of Graciousness

A luxury hotel in the great European tradition. Elegant, quiet, unruffled—never a convention.

THE MADISON

Washington's Correct Address

15th & M Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005

Phone (Toll-free) 800-424-8577

or see your travel agent

Marshall B. Coyne, Proprietor

Contents

TRB from Washington	3	Sickness in America
Comment	5	When Will the Shooting Stop?
	7	Correspondence
John Osborne	8	White House Watch: Business as Usual
Jon Margolis	10	Natural States
Michael Kinsley	12	The Doctors' Plot
Ronald Steel	15	Cold War, Cold Comfort
Stephen Chapman	17	Stamping Out the Poor
Charles Krauthammer	20	Rich Nations, Poor Nations
J. Michael Luhan	23	The Next El Salvador
		Books and the Arts
Stanley Kauffmann	26	Films: Still Ringing
Robert Brustein	27	Theater: The Trashing of Edward Albee
Irving Howe	28	Imagining Labor
James Joll	33	*The Persistence of the Old Regime* by Arno J. Mayer
Barry Goldensohn	34	Poem: "The String Quartet"
Herbert Gintis	35	*The Reign of ETS* by Allan Nairn and associates
Ann Hulbert	38	*What Shakespeare Read—and Thought* by A. L. Rowse *Shakespeare's Division of Experience* by Marilyn French *Shakespeare and the Problem of Meaning* by Norman Rabkin
Traveling Diarist	43	Acid Test

Staff

Editor-in-Chief—*Martin Peretz*
Executive Editor—*Morton M. Kondracke*
Literary Editor—*Jack Beatty*
Senior Editors—*John Osborne, Michael E. Kinsley*
Associate Editor—*Charles Krauthammer*
Managing Editor—*Dorothy Wickenden*
Films—*Stanley Kauffmann*
Theater—*Robert Brustein*
Poetry Editor—*Robert Pinsky*
New Republic Books Editor (Holt, Rinehart & Winston)—*Marc Granetz*
Associate Literary Editor—*Ann Hulbert*
Production Manager—*Lisa Derman*
Staff Writers—*Timothy Noah, Emily Yoffe*
Assistant to the Editors—*Joan Shaffer*
Contributing Editors—*Robert Coles, Henry Fairlie, Paul Fussell, Joseph Featherstone, Nathan Lewin, Roger Morris, Joyce Carol Oates, Paul Robinson, Ronald Steel, Tad Szulc, Anne Tyler, Michael Walzer, Leon Wieseltier*

Publisher—*Robert A. Cohen*
Circulation Manager—*Patricia Hardee*
Circulation Fulfillment Manager—*Reed Phillips*
Business Manager—*Rhonda Davis Schoem*
Financial Planning Manager—*J. Kristine Klasman*
Advertising Manager—*Joan M. Stapleton*
Classified Advertising Manager—*Theresa Miller*
Rights and Permissions—*Winter Thomason*
Leadership Network Advertising—*Robert F. Sennott Jr., New York (212) 682-4500*
Receptionist—*Deborah Sharp*
Staff Associate—*David Seideman*

The New Republic is phototypeset and produced by 19th Street Graphix, Washington, DC.
Production Supervisor—*Kathy Sullivan*
Typesetting—*Sylvia Bowden, Marlene Davis, John O'Neill*
Graphics—*Kenny Grady, George Kibler*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC

April 11, 1981

When Will the Shooting Stop?

The attempt on President Reagan's life, unlike the murders and attempted murders of so many of our other political leaders over the past 20 years, has led only a few commentators here and abroad to conclude that America is "sick." We do not know whether to be encouraged by this development or not. If it means that everyone now is so inured to violence in America that new examples of it do not even inspire introspection, then our society may indeed deserve to be called "sick." But we do not believe this is the case. The reason people are not groaning that America is ridden with pathology, we submit, is that they have not given in to the despair that such a diagnosis implies. They refuse to accept that it's somehow in the nature of this country to have its leaders and other notables periodically gunned down by demented drifters. People want the pattern to be broken if a way to do it can be found.

And the truth is that America's assassinations do not happen because of a national morbidity. They occur, in fact, as a result of America's strengths—its liberality, its openness, its freedom. Any country of 200 million people is likely to have several thousand potential assassins and several hundred thousand potential murderers. But no other country gives them the opportunities that we do. The United States, unlike all totalitarian countries and most democracies, does not require internal passports or identity cards. In this country, unlike even France and West Germany, one can change residence without recording one's presence with local authorities or the police. In China, a stranger can't wander into a neighborhood without his or her arrival being noted by party or municipal security busybodies. In France, concierges act as unofficial street monitors. We have none of that.

In communist countries and right-wing dictatorships, the masses see their leaders only on ceremonial occasions, and even then usually only at great distances or through a thick security screen. In other democracies, leading politicians may campaign among the people, and officeholders will greet constituents, but few demand the incessant flesh-pressing that we require. And few publish an advance schedule in the newspaper of the comings and goings of their leaders.

No other country provides quite the freedom (one might say, encouragement) that we do for an individual to become a psychological or political misfit. American television, the supermarket checkout magazines, and the movies persistently crank out the message that fame is everything. (The uncritical mania for celebrity has now given us its apotheosis: a gunman accused of going after one celebrity as a way of attracting another celebrity's attention, in the process becoming a celebrity himself.) In addition, most countries maintain much tighter surveillance on potentially dangerous political groups. We let our kooks associate freely and even defend their civil liberty to do so.

And finally, of course, we are the only country in the world to consider it even arguable that citizens have a fundamental right to carry guns. In Britain most police don't even carry guns. In France all guns must be registered and their owners must be licensed. West Germany allows guns to be owned only by members of established hunting clubs. In Japan only the police, soldiers, and some competitive marksmen are allowed to own pistols. In the Netherlands, permits are required for all firearms.

This country is not condemned by its nature to endure, again and again, the murder of its leaders. But

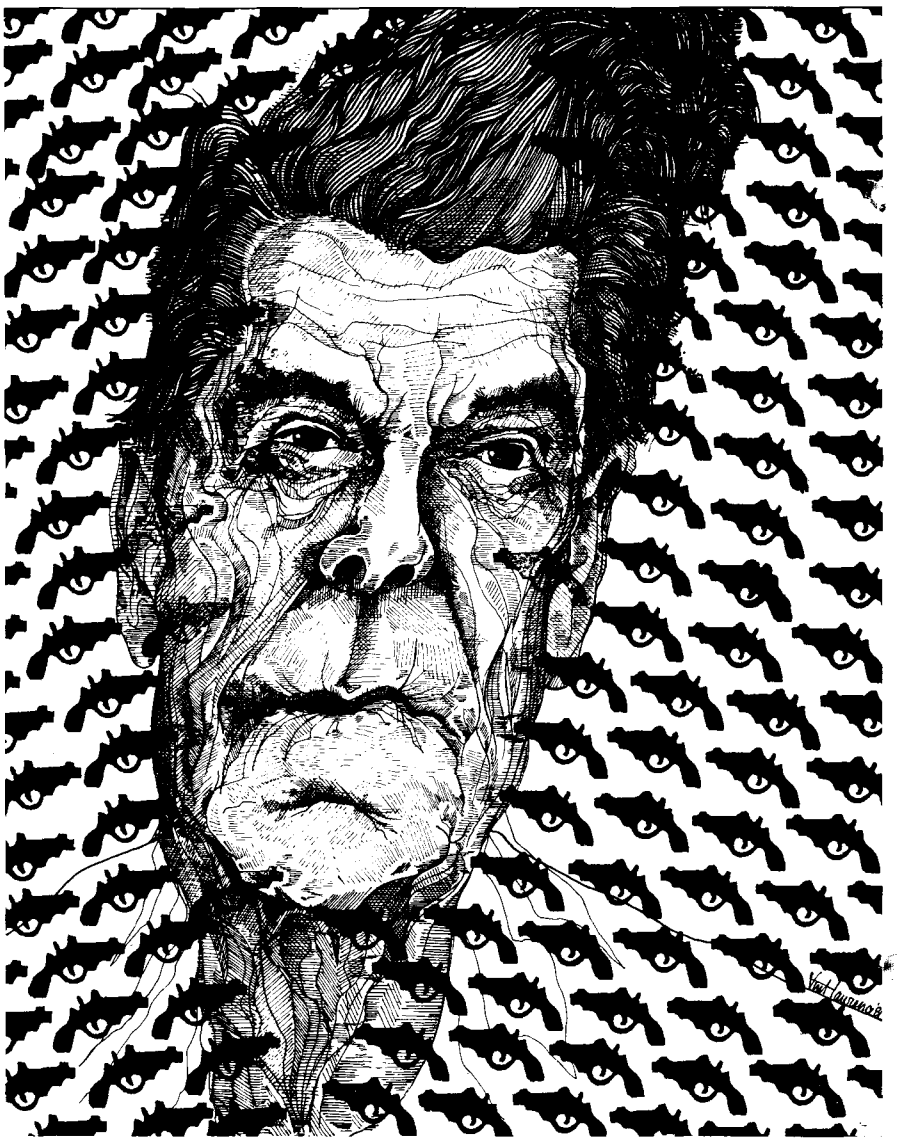
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

if it's true that our freedoms create the opportunity for murder, we face the choice: limit our freedom or lose our leaders. We think it is time, before another president or civil rights leader or senator is gunned down, to make the choice to limit our freedom somewhat —specifically, to limit the absurd so-called "right" to keep and bear arms.

Rather than getting itself bound up in new conservative-vs.-liberal struggles on how to deal with guns and gun crimes, Congress should do what both sides recommend. It should pass mandatory minimum sentences for federal crimes committed with a gun. And it should ban the sale, import, and manufacture of handguns in the United States except for police and military uses and competitive marksmanship. It should not prohibit ownership of such weapons because that would more or less require police to conduct dangerous confiscation raids, but Congress should pass a national gun-registration and owner-licensing law with stiff penalties for violation. Anyone caught with an unregistered weapon should face a heavy fine or a light prison term and, of course, lose the gun.

By banning the manufacture and import of new handguns, Congress would begin the process of gradually reducing the supply of such weapons in America, now estimated to number 50 million. It would also drive up the price of black market handguns, placing them beyond the reach of ordinary citizens and street criminals. This would not guarantee that a determined assassin could not get hold of a weapon, but it would make the process more difficult and expensive. And certainly it would cut down on the number of ordinary murders in America —there were more than 20,000 last year—50 percent of which are committed with handguns. Stiff punishments would have some impact on the number of murders committed during commission of another felony, such as robbery, which account for 20 percent of all murders. Gun controls would reduce the other 80 percent, which are acts of passion. With handguns less handy, there also would be fewer handgun accidents, which claim 2,000 lives each year.

The gun lobby and its political backers—sadly, still apparently including a no-wiser Ronald Reagan—will claim that gun controls do no good. They are already saying that the District of Columbia's strict gun laws failed to prevent the shooting of Reagan, Press Secretary James Brady, Secret Service agent Timothy McCarthy, and policeman Thomas Delahanty. They will claim that US crime rates are so high that citizens need handguns for protection. And finally, they will claim that the Constitution confers the inalienable right to tote a gun.



Vint Lawrence

It is easy to refute all these arguments. First, the rate of gun deaths is consistently lower in states with strict gun laws (usually in the northeast) than in states with little or no restriction on gun ownership (usually in the south and west). Second, John Hinckley Jr. did not buy his gun in Washington, where it's hard, but in Dallas, where it's easy. That's why we need national gun controls. Third, if citizens think they absolutely can't do without a firearm for protection, they should buy a shotgun or a rifle, which are more effective and which, if stolen, can't be carried as concealed weapons. And finally, the Second Amendment to the Constitution clearly connects the right to bear arms to the 18th-century national need to raise a militia. That need is now obsolete, and so is the amendment. If the only way this country can get control of firearms is to amend the Constitution, then it's time for Congress to get the process under way.

But whether the ultimate remedy for the nation's

(continued on page 8)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

El Salvador

To the editors:

In the interests of journalistic honesty, I strongly recommend that you adjust the title of your publication to *The New Republican*. I am of course looking after the interest of the unsuspecting reader who foolishly purchases your periodical under the widespread misinformation that it is a liberal, progressive-leaning journal. I became suspect when I read de facto endorsements of Ronald Reagan and Alphonse D'Amato through the destructive candidacies of John Anderson and Jacob Javits. Your rejection of Senator Kennedy and Elizabeth Holtzman, the two clearest examples of compassionate liberalism, was a textbook example of small-thinking conservatism.

But that's old news. The new news, the news which sounds the death knell for your journal's claim to be anything but representative of the Reagan era, was Penn Kemble's piece on El Salvador ("The Liberal Test in El Salvador," *TNR*, March 14). The warning about the "totalitarian left" was a cheap shot which, if I were old enough, I would be able to say is reminiscent of 1962. Yours is the liberalism of Vietnamization, of the anti-Allende coup, and of course of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The present government of El Salvador is a reactionary dictatorship of the totalitarian right. Duarte is unable or unwilling to control the right-wing death squads. The land reform is a hopeless attempt to co-opt a small minority of the impoverished peasantry; and even that is opposed by most in power. If Penn Kemble were a Salvadoran peasant, you can bet he would be a far less enthusiastic fan of the present government. It reminds me of the "liberal" who supports desegregation in the south but cries bloody murder when an affirmative action program denies entry into Harvard for his child in favor of a less fortunate minority.

Eric R. Alterman
Ithaca, New York

To the editors:

"The Liberal Test in El Salvador" by Penn Kemble is a very welcome example of the enlightened self-interest being shown by US liberalism, and by your magazine in particular. It is high time that Americans take a hard look at the facts as stated in your article, and at the realities of Cuban-supported revolution in Latin America.

As he points out, dictatorships of the right, however unpalatable, at least offer a chance for peaceful democratic change: witness the recent cases of Peru and Ecuador, where the military held free elections and stepped aside. In those of the left, the opposite is true: not a single truly free election has been held in Cuba in the 21 years since Castro's access to power, nor in Nicaragua since the Sandinista takeover—not to mention the lack of freedom or human rights.

The idea of a "political solution" for El Salvador—as appealing as it may sound—is, as the article states, a way for "the pro-communist left . . . to blackmail its way to power." If it succeeds, the Salvadorans will be subjected to a totalitarian system more permanent, ruthless, and evil than anything they have ever known before. Just ask any Cuban who has crossed Florida Straits with a bunch of inner tubes and a jug of water—and was lucky enough to make it to freedom.

E. L. Bernal
Falls Church, Virginia

To the editors:

I fear that your rosy assessment of the government of Salvadoran president José Napoleon Duarte ("Salvaging El Salvador," *TNR*, March 21) is based on some incorrect data—and perhaps, also, on some wishful thinking. Your editorial states, "With two decrees in 1980 the government transferred more than half of that property to peasant cooperatives and individual sharecropper families." Alas, the two decrees have *not* been fully executed. Only about 15 percent of the land has ever been transferred. While much has been written about the proposed land reforms, too little has been done to effect them in El Salvador. On March 2 President Duarte addressed his nation on TV, informing Salvadorans that they "will have to wait five to 10 years" for further land reform.

I wish there were more positive signs from the Christian Democratic government in El Salvador. Unfortunately, the Christian Democrats have a less than mediocre record of reform in Latin America. (Remember the great hopes the US posited in President Eduardo Frei of Chile?) There is no reason to expect that party to be able to reform El Salvador's hoary and iniquitous institutional structures. *The New Republic* is betting on a lame political horse.

E. Bradford Burns
Professor of Latin American History
University of California
Los Angeles, California

Catholic protest

To the editors:

I protest the cartoon by Auth in your March 14 issue. It is an insult not only to Catholics but to all human beings the world over who simply want to share the work of their hands and the fruits of the earth. It is fine for Americans to preach population control, when we insist on using two-thirds of the world's wealth with which to do it.

Norbert F. Gaughan
Greensburg, Pennsylvania

Intellectual duplicity

To the editors:

I read with great interest the exchange between Martin Peretz and Noam Chomsky (Washington Diarist, *TNR*, January 3 and Correspondence, *TNR*, February 14.) I had felt it quite appropriate that left-wing Holocaust-denier Noam Chomsky should rush to the defense of Nazi Holocaust-denier Robert Faurisson. But my aesthetic delight at this association of extreme left and extreme right was somewhat soured when I heard Chomsky defend his position not on the ground that Faurisson was a fellow-crusader against the legitimacy of the state of Israel, but rather that he, Chomsky, was simply pursuing his long-held commitment to academic freedom.

In the spring of 1977, when Columbia University's president and Department of Political Science expressed an interest in offering Dr. Henry Kissinger an endowed chair at the university, small groups of political extremists began a massive campaign against the proposed appointment, on the grounds that Kissinger was a "war criminal" whose "crimes in Vietnam, Cambodia and Chile" had disqualified him from the right to teach. One of the extremist groups organized a meeting at Columbia on April 26, 1977, to rally support against the Kissinger appointment. The

(continued on page 40)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gun problem is legislative or constitutional, nothing will happen without the public's giving its political support to legislators who want to change things. Every poll ever conducted indicates that a huge majority of the population wants gun control. Even a majority of gun owners wants gun control. But a minority of single-minded fanatics, organized by a rich and effective lobby, consistently stymies passage of such legislation. It is time for the American majority to become politically militant on this issue for a change. If it does so, the politicians will follow. They usually respond to threats to their political lives even if they are reckless with their physical safety.

White House Watch

Business as Usual

The morning after President Reagan was shot, at the start of Vice President George Bush's first full day of working and ceremonial substitution, a "pool" of reporters and cameramen waited for Bush outside the West Wing of the White House. It had been assigned by the White House press staff, on the assumption that the vice president would be subject to the press surveillance—"the death watch," journalists call it—that Presidents variously welcome and endure when they go anywhere. Bush was headed for the hospital to visit Reagan and then for the Senate to reassure its members that the President was alert, functioning, and doing well. He departed in a White House limousine and left the poolers behind without the transportation they usually are provided. They were told that the vice president, who normally isn't "pooled," preferred to do without them. "For him," a functionary told the group, "it's described as business as usual."

Of course it wasn't really as usual either for Bush or for Reagan, though the President's principal assistants and spokesmen did their best to make it seem remarkably near normal for him. He cracked jokes, signed a new law in a shaky hand, and otherwise justified the assertion of a hospital doctor that at age 70 he is "physiologically very young." For a gaffer who'd been shot in the left chest and lung and had been in surgery and follow-up care for many hours, it was a great performance by an actor who long ago was considered mediocre. The supporting cast, the White House staff, also did well. One must agree with Henry Kissinger's televised opinion that Reagan's assistants and administration associates handled the shooting and the aftermath "well and maturely." With one exception, that is, and we'll get to it.

As might be expected, Reagan's three topmost assistants spent the first traumatic hours close to him. Michael Deaver was within a few feet of the President when he was shot. Deaver and others thought until Reagan reached the hospital that he'd suffered nothing worse than a cracked rib when a Secret Service agent shoved him into his limousine. Counselor Edwin Meese III and staff chief James Baker III went from the White House to the hospital as soon as Deaver told Baker that Reagan had been wounded. They were away from the White House from around 2:45 p.m. until Baker returned at about 5:30. Meese returned at around 7 p.m. with Vice President Bush, who'd flown home from a speaking tour in Texas. It follows that neither Meese, Baker, nor Deaver was at the White House and in its basement Situation Room, a tightly secured cavern where officials get a kick out of assembling in times of crisis, during most of a meeting there that afternoon and early evening.

THE MEETING was called when nobody at the White House knew how badly Reagan was hurt. Under the 25th Amendment to the Constitution, the vice president and a majority of the cabinet would decide for the President if he seemed incapable of deciding for himself whether he should name the vice president acting President. The outlook for Reagan was good and the question of succession was moot when the meeting convened. Nevertheless, officials kept saying it was for "a majority of the cabinet." Staff director David Gergen, listing the cabinet members present, named only four and he named them in their order of precedence in the statutory line of succession to the Presidency: the secretaries of state, treasury, and defense, and the attorney general. The line of succession is set by law, not by the Constitution. It once was vice president, secretary of state, and some other cabinet members. Congress changed the line to vice president, Speaker of the House, president pro tem of the Senate, then the secretary of state and after him treasury, defense, attorney general.

The senior member of the cabinet is Secretary of State Alexander Haig and he therefore was the senior person at the White House meeting. How he came to be there, his role at the meeting, and what passed at the meeting soon became subjects of inquiry and controversy because of Haig's performance when he left the meeting and appeared in the White House press room at 4:14 p.m.

According to James Baker at a session with a few reporters the day after the shooting and the meeting, Haig first telephoned him from the State Department after the shots were fired but before it was known that Reagan had been hit. Baker promised Haig to keep him informed. Haig soon telephoned Baker again, just after Baker learned that Reagan was wounded and before Baker went to the hospital. "When I told Al that the President had in fact been hit, he left to come over here [to the White House]." Baker agreed with a reporter's

(continued on page 10)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What in the World is Going On?

It's a good question. And these days world events are so puzzling that the question is hard to answer. Newsmagazines don't help much. Nor do the official opinions and pronouncements of the academic journals. They leave you unable to comprehend or cope with the Ayatollah Khomeini, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, or the world refugee crisis now touching Florida's shores.

That's why in 1980 you need a magazine that really tells you what is going on—that analyzes the news and predicts future events. You need a magazine that is daring enough, young enough, and yet respected enough to bring original thinking and new commentary into the arena of foreign affairs.

You need **FOREIGN POLICY.**

In this quarterly journal, you'll learn of America's options...where the interests of peace and security lie...how we can profit from our mistakes...and who the personalities are that set our policies.

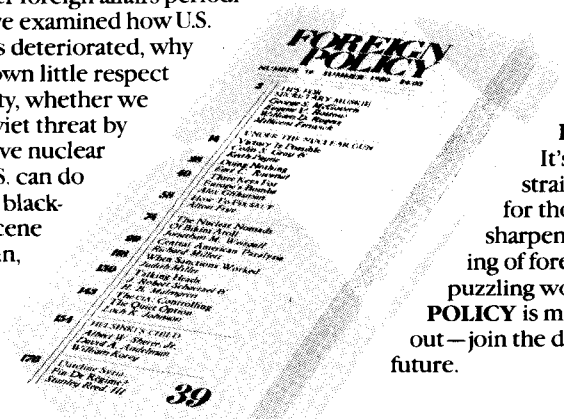
In **FOREIGN POLICY** you will find articles too candid and direct for other foreign affairs periodicals. Recent issues have examined how U.S. intelligence gathering has deteriorated, why Iran has historically shown little respect for embassy immunity, whether we should respond to the Soviet threat by developing an offensive nuclear strategy, and what the U.S. can do to protect itself against oil blackmail—as well as on-the-scene reports from Britain, Nicaragua, Syria, and West Germany. And more to come.

In short, **FOREIGN POLICY** provides fresh insights and vital facts on issues destined to affect our daily lives. That's why it has become *the* magazine to read and refer to in Capitol Hill committee rooms, White House offices, embassies, corporate headquarters, the conference rooms of policymakers all over the world, and in the homes of an ever-widening group of citizens concerned about America and the world. Certainly this magazine deserves your attention as well.

But you be the judge, with this guarantee: If ever you are dissatisfied with **FOREIGN POLICY,** for any reason, you may cancel your subscription and receive a full refund for all unmailed issues.

The price for 1 year (4 issues) is only $15. To start your subscription, simply complete, clip, and mail the coupon below.

Remember, **FOREIGN POLICY** is lively. It's fast-paced and straightforward. And for those who wish to sharpen their understanding of foreign affairs in today's puzzling world, **FOREIGN POLICY** is made to order. Find out—join the debate on America's future.



yes... please begin my **FOREIGN POLICY** subscription for the term I have checked below:

_____ 1 year (4 issues) $15 _____ 2 years (8 issues) $27 _____ 3 years (12 issues) $38

For foreign orders check one: _____ add $2 annually for surface mail _____ add $10 annually for airmail

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

_____ payment enclosed _____ please bill me

Send to: **FOREIGN POLICY** 11 Dupont Circle, Suite 903 Washington, D.C. 20036

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

supposition that Haig "volunteered" to go to the White House before he was asked to. "But," Baker continued, "this was done by agreement. . . . We wanted to get . . . as many of the cabinet over here as we could." Baker was uncertain whether he next called Haig or Haig called him. "We talked almost as soon as I got to the hospital and agreed that he, as the senior cabinet officer present, would serve as the chief contact point between Ed Meese and me at the hospital, and the Situation Room. . . . This arrangement existed in numerous conversations after that."

Reporter: "Who proposed the arrangement?"

Baker: "I think it was probably just mutually understood. I don't recall anybody specifically proposing it. I clearly agreed with Al that he should be the point of contact . . . he was the senior cabinet officer aboard here in the Situation Room with whom those of us at the hospital would coordinate actions."

By the sort of communications miracle that is taken for granted now, Baker and Meese at the hospital were by then in secure voice communication with Haig and others in the Situation Room and with Bush aboard his returning plane. The White House press room record verifies Baker's statement that questions arose at a news briefing "about the alert status of American forces and our overall security." Deputy Press Secretary Lawrence Speakes said in answer to questions that the State Department was notifying other governments of the shooting and that so far as Speakes knew the US military had not been "placed on any higher readiness." Baker said that Haig, listening with the others in the Situation Room, "at that point felt that it was important to reassure our allies that there was continuity of government here in the United States. . . . We all believed it was important." Here Baker, recalling that he and others were "prepared to deal with any contingency" and take actions that the President might not be able to take, indicated that he, Haig, and the rest were under greater tension than the public realized. There is some suggestion in the record that they feared a Soviet move into Poland.

Haig's first substantive statement in the press room was: "We have informed our friends abroad of the situation—the President's condition as we know it, stable, now undergoing surgery. And there are absolutely no alert measures that are necessary at this time we're contemplating." It substantiated Baker's later story that concern about foreign reaction had brought Haig to the press room. But the concern explained neither his demeanor nor what followed. It was clear on TV that Haig was strained, his voice near breaking; he seemed to lunge at the microphones, much as he had at his Senate confirmation hearing and in later congressional testimony. Reporters in the room wrote that he was sweating and that his arms were trembling during an exchange that will haunt Haig.

Q. "Who is making the decisions for the government right now? Who's making the decisions?"

Haig: "Constitutionally, gentlemen, you have the President, the vice president, and the secretary of state in that order and should the President decide he wants to transfer the helm to the vice president, he will do so. He has not done that. As of now I am in control here, in the White House, pending return of the vice president, and in close touch with him. If something came up I would check with him, of course."

It was a stupendous blunder. If Haig had the line of presidential succession in mind, he was wrong. If, as an apologist said, he was talking about constitutional line of "executive authority," he also was wrong. There is no such line of executive authority. It seems inconceivable that Haig, a four-star military professional, could have been thinking about and misstating the line of military *command* authority that the National Security Act of 1947 empowered Presidents to establish. Since Eisenhower's time and probably before then, it has run from the President to the vice president to the secretary of defense. The secretary of state does not figure in it. On Jim Baker's instruction, at a night briefing after Haig had appeared, Lawrence Speakes summarized the line of command authority. Reporters heard the next day that Secretary Weinberger had objected in the Situation Room to Haig's definition of "constitutional" authority and also to his statement that no military alert was in effect or contemplated, a matter of Weinberger's territory. Baker and David Gergen, one of the few White House assistants who attended the entire Situation Room meeting, acknowledged that there had been "discussions," differences, "a tiff," but denied that Haig and Weinberger had quarreled. Baker, Gergen, Meese, and everybody else in hearing at the White House insisted that Haig had done exactly what he was supposed to do at the meeting and done it well. Meese said in several interviews that "there is no problem with Haig."

There is a problem with Haig and that is too bad. He is immensely capable and the country will be the loser if he does himself out of his job.

John Osborne

America's heart and soul.

Natural States

Up in the North Country they tell how years ago the Connecticut River cut a new channel, rendering an elderly Vermont farmer suddenly a resident of New Hampshire. "Thank heavens," he said when they told him. "I couldn't have stood another of them Vermont winters."

The old geezer had a point. Vermont *is* different from New Hampshire, offering a climate colder to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some, warmer to others. As Peter Smith, a Montpelier businessman and local historian, put it, "The differences go way back. The landed gentry came to New Hampshire. The bandits, scoundrels, and heretics came to Vermont." It should come as no surprise, for instance, that William Loeb, the famed publisher of the *Manchester Union-Leader*, is successful in New Hampshire, where his brand of politics and journalism thrives, but went bust in Vermont, where it doesn't. New Hampshire is New England's South Carolina, Vermont its Minnesota.

Wisconsin is different from Illinois, too, though it's right next door. Wisconsin is known for clean and open politics. Illinois isn't. This distinction might relate to origins; perhaps Scandinavians simply will not tolerate certain practices the Irish find acceptable, even admirable. But Milwaukee and Chicago both have large Polish and German populations. For some mysterious reason, attitudes change between Zion and Kenosha.

Then there's Louisiana, where the last governor's race featured two major candidates named Bubba. Nobody named Bubba runs in Mississippi or Arkansas, though only in Alabama would the governor be named Fob. Actually, Bubba is a pretty tame name in Louisiana. That same year two other candidates were named Snow Sheets and Nomie Namie. They were running for police juror, a local office found nowhere but in what Earl Long used to call the Gret Stet.

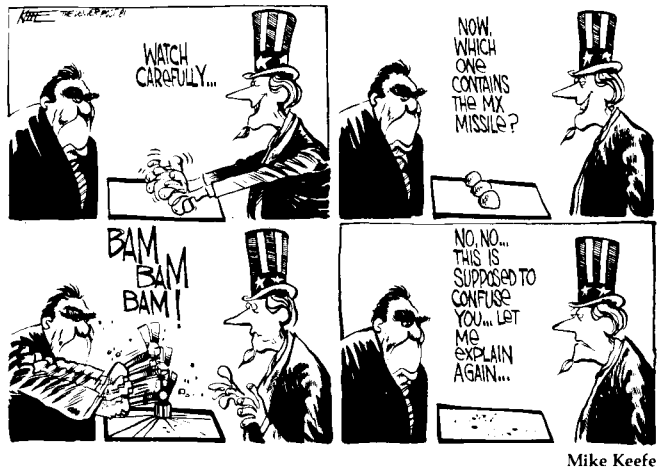
THE FACT IS that states have cultures. As interstate highways, network television, and airport coffee shops have hastened American homogenization, state cultures are among the last bastions of distinction left. Iowa is clean and wholesome. Wyoming is empty. Oregon is snobbish and proud of it. Rhode Island is full of larceny. Pennsylvania is tough. Ohio only thinks it is. North Dakota, perhaps, does not exist. There is currently a good, popular country song called, "You're the Reason God Made Oklahoma." No one would write a song called, "You're the Reason God Made Maine," any more than we would sing "Indiana Moon," "Back Home Again in Georgia," or "Gone to Kansas with a banjo on my knee." Nor is it just the lack of euphony. You simply do not go to Kansas with a banjo, at least not on your knee.

That's why everyone should resist those suggestions made periodically by academics, reformers, and assorted killjoys to abolish the states, or somehow get them to wither away. Such a suggestion was made in these pages recently by Michael Kinsley, who marshalled an impressive array of sensible arguments. But just as nothing is as inefficient as efficiency, sometimes doing what is sensible makes no sense at all. Artificial turf makes sense, too. You don't have to mow it, water it, or fertilize it. But what is played on it ain't baseball. Trying to make America sensible has always been and remains a fool's errand. This is essentially a discombobulated country: contentious, ornery, and defiant of rational analysis. That's what makes it so interesting. Were Nebraska not Nebraska it would be nothing but a blob of wheat fields and sand hills. As is, it is quite a bit more. It is Nebraska, the only state with a town named Wahoo, as well as the land that produced Willa Cather. Had Miss Cather's home been just a few miles south she would have been from Kansas, and "Lost Lady" would have had a far different twist. Similarly, had Thomas Wolfe's house been a bit farther west he would have grown up in Tennessee, and he probably would have been able to go home again. Being residents of a real thing called Nebraska gives people in Kearney something to read about which is happening closer than Chicago. They can always hate what is happening in Lincoln.

Indeed, intra-state rivalry is part of each state's culture. What joy would there be for a New York City politician if he couldn't regularly (and, as it happens, incorrectly) blame the city's troubles on the predations of the upstate "apple-knockers"? The mutual distrust between eastern and western Pennsylvania is part of that state's charm, and everyone knows how northern and southern Californians feel about each other. These relatively benign hatreds are the moral equivalent of bigotry. After all, better that folks should tell nasty jokes about apple-knockers, aggies, or Angelenos than about Polish-Americans. In the newspaper business we call them managing editor jokes, but not everyone has so convenient a foil.

Doing away with the states would be especially harmful to Texas and California, which now see themselves, correctly, as semi-independent nations anyway. Texas already has a relatively serious secessionist faction. California doesn't need one, secure in its status as both separate and supreme, setting the trends that will be followed by its provinces to the east. Californians are comforted by this despite its inaccuracy. California is not the trend-setting state. New Jersey is. But that is a metaphysical proposition, and too complex to be considered here.

As the country gets uglier, occasional debate is heard about the politics of aesthetics. But what about the aesthetics of politics, or indeed of the whole society? It is now possible to buy a cinnamon-raisin


WATCH CAREFULLY...
NOW, WHICH ONE CONTAINS THE MX MISSILE?
BAM BAM BAM!
NO, NO... THIS IS SUPPOSED TO CONFUSE YOU... LET ME EXPLAIN AGAIN...
Mike Keefe

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bagel. This may be the end of Western civilization as we have known it, but not a voice is raised in protest. Together the political scientists and the reformers have taken the fun out of politics. Now they propose to take away its meaning, too.

Abolishing the states would further erode the notion that politics is not just a process but an art form, speaking to the heart and soul as well as the mind. It would be consistent with the recent desecration of changing the holidays to Mondays, buying three-day weekends but surrendering much of our civic sanctity. The states are part of that sanctity. They are not mere administrative districts, like the *départements* in France. Nor are they just "reservoirs of sentiment," as Kinsley suggests. Collectively, they are an important link between us and our country's past, and therefore its future.

Doing away with the states is like doing away with fresh milk. That's another idea making the rounds from reformers, consumerists in this case upset about the rising cost of milk and the power of the milk lobby. Their solution: reconstituted milk, dehydrated at the dairy and rewatered later in the process. It makes sense. It would cut transportation costs and reduce the price of milk. But it would taste just awful.

Jon Margolis

Jon Margolis is the Washington-based national political correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*.

Take two aspirin, and avoid nuclear war.

The Doctors' Plot

The medical profession performed miracles last week in Washington, working with great skill and speed to save the lives of President Reagan and three other victims of a nut with a revolver. But this was trivial compared to the medical triumph that occurred the previous week at a conference center out in the Virginia countryside, where a group of doctors from around the world, led by a team from Harvard, developed a cure for nuclear war. Oh, there are a few kinks to be worked out, but the report on the proceedings of the First Congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War is cautiously optimistic. The cure consists of persuading everyone that nuclear war is a medical problem, about which one naturally should follow the advice of one's doctor. The doctors, based on their expert understanding of human physiology, have concluded that the best medical advice about nuclear war is: "Don't have one. It is bad for your health. Believe me, I'm a doctor." Soon, nuclear war will be as obsolete as smoking.

Well, I am not a doctor, so perhaps it is presumptuous of me to interfere, but I think that this cure may not work. Speaking strictly as a layman, I see three difficulties.

First, these doctors seem to think that nations build nuclear weapons because they don't realize how unpleasant a nuclear war would be. The "Statement of the Problem" in their prospectus begins: "There is a profound lack of understanding worldwide of the consequences of nuclear war, as evidenced by the enormous nuclear weapons arsenals of the superpowers and the rapid proliferation of nuclear weapons around the world." At their Virginia conference, the doctors addressed their special expertise to this problem. In a closing statement, they report:

> As physicians and scientists, we have for the past several days reviewed the data on the nature and magnitude of the effects that the use of nuclear weapons would bring. We have considered independently prepared medical and scientific analyses from many sources. Our unanimous conclusions are:
>
> (1) Nuclear war would be a catastrophe with medical consequences of enormous magnitude. . . .

And so on. So now you know. In fact, anticipating the results of last month's scientific study, members of Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War have been publishing articles for many months in both the specialist and the lay press, describing the gory results of a nuclear exchange. These articles tend to emphasize the effect on doctors and hospitals. "When we contemplate disasters," says the conference report, "we often assume that abundant medical resources and personnel will be available." But the report argues otherwise. Following hair-raising accounts of deaths by the million, colossal fires, widespread famine, generations of genetic mutants, not to mention "grave psychological trauma," the report reveals that, "Neither doctors nor the hospitals in which they work will be spared." Perhaps there is someone somewhere who had thought that medical care would be unaffected by a nuclear war. And perhaps there are people who can contemplate with relative equanimity the loss of their own lives and those of their family and friends, but sicken at the thought that the Harvard Medical School and its affiliated hospitals could be blown away. These people should take heed.

But if we do have nuclear Armageddon, it won't happen because somebody believed that it would be no big deal. Everyone with access to the button realizes that there is no rational reason actually to start a nuclear war, because the result would be dreadful for all sides. The problem for a generation has been that no major power has been willing to give up the ability to *threaten* nuclear attack, and indeed would be foolish to do so as long as an adversary retained it, and there is a risk the game of chicken will get out of hand. A newer problem is that nuclear weapons are getting

(continued on page 14)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Bell System is giving American orchestras a hand.

The Bell System American Orchestras on Tour program is taking 30 major symphony orchestras to over 240 cities across the United States.

It's our way of helping orchestras reach places and people they might not have reached before—not merely an extension of our business, but a part of it.

Simply put, communication is much more than phone calls. It's anything that can stir a person's heart.

Bell System

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

into the hands of people who aren't rational at all. Graphic descriptions of Boston in flames are unlikely to have a sobering effect on Colonel Qaddafi.

And then there's the disconcerting thought that only the existence of nuclear weapons has prevented a major conventional war between the superpowers for the past 35 years. Surely the US would not be so reluctant to encourage the Poles in their present, obviously sympathetic, rebellion if it weren't for the fear of descent into nuclear catastrophe. Some might find this forced acquiescence in Soviet tyranny unfortunate. But few activists in the campaign against nuclear weapons, I presume, are motivated by a desire to make the world safe for conventional warfare.

The doctors, judging from their literature, have no new prescription for these basic dilemmas of the nuclear age. This is the second difficulty with their cure. Utterly lacking anything constructive to suggest, they simply repeat that "as physicians," they have a special role in preventing nuclear war. The founder of the group, Dr. Bernard Lown of Harvard, wrote last month in the *New England Journal of Medicine*:

> It may be argued that nuclear war is an issue in the political and social domain and that physicians need confront it only as concerned citizens. But on closer examination, it is apparent that the danger of nuclear war in undermining health, fomenting disease, and causing the death of untold millions is an unprecedented threat to humanity.

Dr. Howard Hiatt, dean of the Harvard School of Public Health, has called nuclear war "the last epidemic." A resolution from last month's conference declares that international cooperation among doctors can cure nuclear war, just as it cured smallpox.

BUT HOW? The doctors are fond of quoting Einstein, who said that because of nuclear weapons, "We shall require a substantially new manner of thinking if mankind is to survive." Not one of his most brilliant insights, perhaps, but the "new thinking" of these doctors is contained in a handout entitled, "What Physicians Can Do To Prevent Nuclear War." It recommends: "Review all information. . . ."; "Provide information by lectures" and other means; "Bring to the attention of all concerned with public policy the medical implications. . . ."; "Seek the cooperation of the medical and related professions. . . ."; "Develop a resource center. . . ."; "Encourage studies of psychological obstacles" to thinking about nuclear war; "Initiate discussion of development of an international law" banning nuclear war; "Encourage the formation in all countries of groups of physicians and committees. . . ."; "Establish an international organization to coordinate the activities . . . "; and so on. In other words, "as physicians" they have no better idea about how to prevent nuclear war than anyone else.

Dr. Robert J. Lifton, the mass horror specialist from Yale and a member of the physicians group, goes further. Writing March 28 on the *New York Times* op-ed page, he endorses the action of the "Plowshares Eight," led by Daniel Berrigan, who broke into a nuclear weapons factory last fall, damaged two nose cones, and poured blood on some documents and tools. Lifton complains that, at their trial, he was denied the right to testify as an "expert witness" that their action was exculpable under the legal doctrine of "necessity" because nuclear war would be so awful. "How far should one go in one's actions to prevent nuclear war?" he asks. "The need now is to convert these fragmentary efforts into a deeper awareness that, in turn, leads to a genuine change, to nuclear-arms control—and, yes, disarmament." How a universal awareness even as profoundly deep as his own about the likely effects of nuclear war can actually prevent nuclear war, Dr. Lifton does not reveal.

But let us suppose that universal revulsion, on the advice of doctors, could lead the nations of the world to lay down their nuclear weapons for good. There is a third difficulty. How is this medical education campaign to be conducted in the Soviet Union (let alone Libya, Pakistan, South Africa, and so on)?

THE STRUCTURE of Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, and the publicity the group has cultivated, posits a loony international symmetry. Dr. Lown of Harvard is only co-president of the group. The other co-president is Dr. Eugene I. Chazov, Soviet deputy minister of health and reportedly Chairman Brezhnev's own cardiologist. The group's prospectus balances a list of participating US doctors with a list of participating members from the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences. Yet I can't help feeling that these Soviet doctors may have difficulty applying their chosen therapy of getting "respected and well informed people to discuss publicly the facts about nuclear war" in a society where the tradition of the op-ed page is not highly developed. The recommendations for "resource centers," public lectures, and so on suggest that, however international the membership list, the real movers behind Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War are more familiar with life in Boston than with life in the Soviet Union.

And I wonder if the fact that physicians "are widely respected as scientists" and are "identified with human life and health" will carry as much weight with Soviet leaders as these physicians hope. The last time a Soviet party chairman thought he noticed physicians developing an interest in political matters, he arrested nine of them. All were tortured, two died, and the other seven were saved only by the timely failure of the chairman's own medical treatment. Times have changed in Russia since the days of Stalin and the "Doctors' Plot." But somehow, even today, I can't see Dr. Chazov whipping out his prescription pad and saying, "Now, Comrade Brezhnev, take this for your nerves, and remember: *no nuclear war*!"

But this may not even be necessary, because Brezhnev is already a convert. On March 20, 1980, he wrote

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the physician group's American organizers that "the Soviet Union consistently stands for banning these and all other types of weapons of mass destruction and annihilation." And, "You may rest assured that your humane and noble activities aimed at preventing nuclear war will meet with understanding and support in the Soviet Union. With best wishes of success, L. BREZHNEV." As for our side, Representative Hamilton Fish has submitted a proposed concurrent resolution, "Expressing the sense of the Congress that all nuclear weapons in the world should be eliminated." Unfortunately, the bill got stalled in committee. If we had a political system as efficient as the one enjoyed in the Soviet Union, all the nuclear weapons in the world would be gone by now.

Michael Kinsley

Reagan's Anti-Sovietism
costs a lot and won't pay.

Cold War, Cold Comfort

The Reagan administration's foreign policy is simple and direct. Anti-Sovietism is its name. Every problem in the outside world is viewed through this lens. Racism in South Africa, struggles in the Middle East, revolution in Central America, repression in Argentina—all are seen as props against the background of the great showdown with Soviet communism.

The formula is a potent one. It provides an explanation for our troubles, and suggests a way of resolving them that threatens no special interest groups and upsets no entrenched assumptions. Candidate Reagan expressed it in classic form during the campaign. "Let us not delude ourselves," he said. "The Soviet Union underlies all the unrest that is going on. If they weren't engaged in this game of dominoes, there wouldn't be any hot spots in the world."

We would all like to believe it. A world that simple would be a world easier to deal with—a world in which we were always sure who was right and who wrong, who was our foe and who our friend, which responses were necessary and which merely capricious. For a long time we were sure. This does not mean we were necessarily right in being sure, but at least we had few doubts. Then along came Vietnam, and nothing has been quite the same since.

We may well be over our Vietnam syndrome, as has been said, and no longer afraid of using force. But we are not so sure anymore of the utility of force and we have come to realize that it can be very expensive to apply. The causes have to be worth the effort, because the effort is a great one, not only for our economy, but for the whole structure and cohesion of our society. Thus there are two questions we have to ask about anti-Sovietism as a basis for American foreign policy today. One is the old question: is it a relevant response to what is taking place in the world? The second is a new question resulting from the sharp constriction of our circumstances over the decade: can we afford it?

Some may be shocked by the second question, for it implies that we are poor, or that we might be obliged to do less than we should. We are not poor, but we are not so rich as we once were—at least not in relation to many other nations and, more importantly, not in relation to the resources and the productivity on which so much of our prosperity depends. We can do what we must, but we would pay a very high price for doing more than we should. And what we must do is not written on a Rosetta stone that only Ronald Reagan, Alexander Haig, and a few professors playing hooky at the National Security Council can decipher. It is a question of establishing priorities, which means making distinctions between vital needs and idle wishes.

There is nothing new about anti-Sovietism. It has been a staple of American foreign policy, indeed its centerpiece, since the first days of the cold war. It used to be called anti-communism. Now, to take account of the Peking-Moscow squabble, it has been updated, though not necessarily made more precise. It still suffers from most of the old liabilities. It does not distinguish between Soviet policies that are threatening and those merely inconvenient. It defines American interests in terms of what the Soviet Union does rather than in terms of what the United States needs. And in practice, anti-Sovietism as a foreign policy doctrine is vague, emotional, and reactive.

The doctrine is vague, because it lumps together actions such as Moscow's relentless missile build-up with its support of quasi-Marxist nationalists in countries like Angola and Ethiopia. The former is a real threat to American security, the latter scarcely even a nuisance. Yet it is Soviet meddling in the third world that obsesses official Washington. Perversely, the only hope for slowing down Soviet missile production—through an arms control accord—is rejected and derided by the very people in this administration whose ostensible task is to achieve such control.

The doctrine is emotional, for it allows a minor ripple to trigger a hysterical response. Witness the supposed "discovery" of the Soviet brigade in Cuba. Although the Russian troops had been there for 20 years, the flap over their rediscovery administered the *coup de grace* to the limping SALT II treaty. Similarly, information that the rebels in El Salvador received some Soviet weapons was enough to transform a social revolution in that beleaguered country into a cold war confrontation.

The doctrine is reactive, for knee-jerk anti-Sovietism allows Moscow to set the priorities. When the Russians sent troops into Afghanistan to prop up a faltering Marxist regime, a country that had never been of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the slightest interest to American policy-makers suddenly assumed critical importance. When Somalia was receiving Soviet largesse and Ethiopia receiving ours, we were assured that Ethiopia was insignificant, while Somalia was one of the key countries of Africa. Now that the United States has switched sides, we are told that Ethiopia, run by Marxists, is really the crucial one.

The major shortcoming of ritualistic anti-Sovietism—its reduction of all the world's ills to a simple equation of us against them—is also part of its appeal. One example is the current effort to redefine terrorism as something that only Communists commit. Thus Alexander Haig has assured us that terrorism in the world—whether it be the hijacking of an airplane or a bomb in a marketplace—is orchestrated by the Soviets. Presumably, although the secretary of state did not elaborate, they are also responsible for such terrorists as the Red Brigade in Italy, whose "infantile leftism" they have documented, the right-wing death squads in El Salvador, and the police torturers in Guatemala and Argentina. Unfortunately for Secretary Haig, his department, when pressed by reporters, could find no evidence to back up his assertions. This does not mean that the Soviets would be reluctant to support terrorism when it suited their purposes. Other more scrupulous nations have been known to do so. But it does mean that there may be other causes of violence and terrorism, other reasons why Iraqis and Iranians, Arabs and Jews, Pakistanis and Indians are at one another's throats.

Are the current architects of our diplomacy so simple as to believe what they are telling us? Not necessarily. To them there is terrorism, which by definition is Soviet-inspired, and the "regrettable excesses" that our more energetic friends may commit in their pursuit of stabilization and modernization. It is useful to redefine terrorism in order to draw the lines more clearly and rally public support for new policy priorities.

Among those priorities are support for "friendly" dictators regardless of their human rights abuses, military aid to the Salvadoran junta, winking at South Africa's racial programs, rejection of arms control, and, as part of the biggest jump in the nation's military budget in our peacetime history, a greatly expanded fleet and missile arsenal. These policies reflect something quite simple in conception: a return to cold war fundamentalism. It is a policy based on the assumption that if we are tough enough and strong enough we are sure to get our way, because we are certainly pure enough. Thus the new rearmament program—which is, in effect, a massive transfer of wealth from the civilian to the military sector of the economy—is the operating arm of a policy of global military engagement. It requires two things to work: first, acquiescent allies in Europe and Japan to support it by doing their share militarily and adjusting their trade policies

Reservation Form

Judge Hastie Award Symposium

Thursday, April 30, 1981

International Inn, 10 Thomas Circle, NW, Washington, D.C.

Please indicate whether you will attend the Plenary Session, and select one panel each in Morning and Afternoon Session.

MORNING SESSION

9:00 a.m. **Registration**

☐ 9:30 a.m. **Plenary Session**

Judge Hastie: Man, Jurist, His Role in Civil Rights

Housing and School Desegregation: The Persistent Dilemma

10:45-12:15 p.m.

☐ **Panel 1**
Progress in Desegregation: Shaker Heights, Ohio Jefferson County, Kentucky

☐ **Panel 2**
Washington, D.C.: The Enduring Ghetto

LUNCHEON AWARD CEREMONY

1:00-3:00 p.m.

Address by Martin Peretz, Editor-in-Chief of The New Republic

Presentation of the Judge Hastie Awards to:

Dr. Pauli Murray, priest, lawyer, educator

The Honorable Wade H. McCree, Jr., Solicitor General, U.S. Dept. of Justice

NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel

AFTERNOON SESSION

3:15-5:00 p.m.

☐ **Panel 3**
Policy Recommendations: Desegregation, the Positive Challenge of Diversity. Strategies, Education, Legal Perspectives

☐ **Panel 4**
Policy Recommendations: Integration—Communities Where "Place" Transcends "Race"

Tickets (Award Luncheon included) $20
My check for $_____ is enclosed.

Sponsor Tickets (Award Luncheon included) $50
My check for $_____ is enclosed.

I cannot attend, but am pleased to make a contribution of $_____ (tax-deductible).

Make checks payable to:
Fund for an OPEN Society, Hastie Symposium

For more information, call 202-828-1703

Mail to: Judge Hastie Award Symposium
Suite 260
1300 19th Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

Name _____
(please print)

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone: Home (____) _____

Business (____) _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

accordingly, and, second, a compliant American public to pay for it. A Reagan economic program based on cake for the rich means crumbs for the poor if it is to push through its military expansion program without devastating inflation.

The allies clearly are not buying the administration's rationale. They share neither its assumptions about Soviet behavior nor its prescriptions for how to deal with it. They are dragging their feet, doing only what they must to keep the Americans from becoming angry. The American public supports the policies for the moment because it has been disillusioned by events. It naturally believes in a strong defense, and it wants to believe that this will reverse what it sees as the decline of the past few years. Some national assumptions have been badly buffeted lately. First came the oil shocks that dramatized the nation's vulnerability. Then came the daily humiliations of the hostage drama in Iran. And immediately following the Tehran episode came the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, raising new anxieties about the ground rules of the cold war.

All these events, occurring in such rapid succession, undermined much of what we have been taught to believe about America's place in the world. Instead of being omnipotent and beloved, we suddenly seemed to be weak and scorned. As Stanley Hoffmann phrased it in the *New York Review of Books*, this period marked the "end of deference." Other nations feel free to defy or in some cases even worse, to ignore us. It is the end not only of deference, but of American exceptionalism.

That is not an easy adjustment to make. We are tempted to return to the old ways. The virtue of a military buildup is that it seems to offer a quick cure for our troubles. But this is illusory. Usable military power is different from actual hardware. The United States can compete with the Soviet military arsenal, but it cannot, through force of arms, impose a political solution on El Salvador. It can win a military victory in that unhappy country, but this will not in any way affect the size of the Red army or the strength of the Soviet missile arsenal. And there are problems, such as secure access to Persian Gulf oil at a reasonable price, that no amount of American arms can resolve happily.

The kind of military superiority that the United States once enjoyed over the Soviet Union is gone. The Russians, by squeezing their civilians, have the capacity to match us missile for missile. They also have the will to do so. We are playing from our weakest suit by choosing to engage them on that level alone. Our comparative advantage lies not in building weapons, but in the strength of our economy, in our ability to use foreign aid as an arm of our diplomacy and to maintain alliances with those who share our values. A military fix, although tempting, is a delusion.

The attempt to achieve it could also be economically disastrous. This perhaps is the greatest danger of Reagan's arms build-up. It was our enormous economic surplus, as Lester Thurow points out in the current issue of *Foreign Policy*, that allowed a succession of post-war American presidents to pursue a policy of global engagement and military activism. That surplus has evaporated, partly as a result of the massive outflow of funds to pay for imported oil, but even more because of a loss of productivity and of competitiveness on world markets.

Anti-Sovietism is not a policy, it is a stance. It promises a cold war victory, but can deliver only military frustration, economic distress, and political disaffection. It is time for those truly concerned about American security to examine the true costs of this policy and to explore alternatives.

Ronald Steel

Stockman encourages welfare, not work.

Stamping Out the Poor

When David Stockman began pruning the federal budget, it was inevitable that his shears would find food stamps. Probably no federal program is more reviled on the right. Conservatives see it as an extravagant handout, riddled with fraud and abuse, which puts money in the hands of the undeserving—including libidinous welfare mothers, lazy though able-bodied males, unscrupulous college students, and workers on strike. No doubt many conservatives would like to scrap the program entirely. But for now they're happy to settle for Stockman's measures, which will reduce next year's budget for food stamps by nearly two billion dollars. Unfortunately, despite the president's promise to protect the "truly needy," these reductions also will impose real hardship on poor people at every level, and make it harder for the ambitious to escape their poverty.

Why food stamps are anathema among conservatives has always been a mystery. This was not one of the spectacular failures of the Great Society, but one of its great successes. Unlike many of Lyndon Johnson's welfare measures, the food stamp program had a limited, tangible purpose: to eradicate hunger in America. Unlike most of them, it worked. It would be hard to design a welfare program that goes further to accommodate conservative demands. Unlike cash payments, food stamps can't be squandered on booze, dice, loose women, or welfare Cadillacs. By forcing the recipient to expose himself publicly as a welfare case, they preserve the stigma that conservatives think crucial. Because the working poor can get food stamps, with benefits phased out gradually as income rises, the program doesn't encourage permanent dependency among those able to work.

Some conservatives, of course, are purely mean-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

spirited. Others are just misinformed. The food stamp program is a trifling factor in the growth of federal spending. Total spending for food stamps this year is less than $12 billion, in a budget of nearly $700 billion. Nor could one describe benefits as excessive. The maximum benefit is only two dollars per person per day; the average benefit is a spartan $1.32 per person per day, or 44 cents per meal. The program's critics like to display graphs that show food stamp expenditures soaring since 1964, the program's first year. But then it was only a pilot program. It has not grown much since the program was broadened to cover all poor people. Since 1976, for example, the cost of the program has risen by 67 percent, but most of the increase came from adjustments for inflation. The real cost of the program grew by less than 10 percent, and much of this growth is due entirely to the poor health of the economy. Every one percent increase in unemployment adds about a million new recipients to the food stamp rolls.

CONSERVATIVES can rest assured that the vast bulk of food stamp benefits do indeed go to the "truly needy." The typical family on food stamps has a yearly income of $3,900, or $325 a month. Sixty percent have no savings of any kind, two-thirds own no car, and 71 percent don't own their homes. College students are no longer allowed routinely to supplement Daddy's allowance with food stamps, thanks to rules enacted in 1977 which removed 300,000 students from the program. Workers on strike never have been a significant part of the food stamp population. Right now only one of every 1,000 recipients is on strike. Able-bodied adults without responsibility for children or infirm parents are required to register for and accept work.

The administration's cuts fall into three main categories. The first, which has provoked the greatest outcry, is actually the most reasonable. It would reduce benefits to families whose children get free school lunches by the prescribed 44 cents per meal. Under current rules, free school lunches aren't counted in calculating a family's benefits. Today a family of four adults gets no more in benefits than a single-parent family of the same income whose three kids get 15 free meals each week at school. That isn't fair by any standard, and even some of the administration's critics concede as much. Stockman could have corrected this inequity simply by raising the benefits of households without schoolchildren. In any event, the proposed change probably won't save as much as the administration expects, since enforcing it will be complicated and expensive.

Stockman's least defensible change in the program has also been the most ignored. The budget director complains that the government helps too many people who aren't really poor. In the food stamp program, for example, households don't become ineligible until their income exceeds 150 percent of the designated poverty line (currently about $14,000 for a family of four). Stockman wants to reduce the maximum income to 130 percent of the poverty line (about $11,000). That doesn't sound totally unreasonable until you consider how this change will discourage work. Right now benefits are phased out gradually as income rises. If a worker earns an extra dollar of income, his or her benefits drop by 30 cents, until they disappear at the $14,000 level. The point of the gradual phaseout is to avoid penalizing those recipients who work.

Stockman's proposal, however, would mean that benefits would be phased out gradually, at the same rate, until income reaches $11,000. A woman with three children making $5.25 an hour now qualifies for $99 a month in food stamps. Under the administration plan, a dime-an-hour raise would make her ineligible for any food stamps at all. An extra dollar a month of income, at the cutoff level, would cost the recipient nearly $1,200 a year in benefits. In one appearance on ABC's "Issue and Answers," Stockman said this work disincentive wasn't important because children and mothers, who make up 85 percent of recipients, won't work anyway. Here he is being deliberately obtuse. Of course work disincentives won't affect people who already are prevented from working. But they will have a great impact on anyone who wants to work—a segment of the welfare population one might expect to be dear to conservatives. Various administration officials take a different tack, arguing that food stamp recipients lack the sophistication to figure out that in some instances they'll be worse off for working and earning more. Can these be the same poor people who are wily enough routinely to defraud the government of funds that would allow them to live in luxury?

THE WORK disincentives created by the administration's proposals go beyond those inflicted on food stamp recipients making more than $11,000. The key to work incentives, as supply-siders never tire of noting, is the marginal tax rate—how much the government takes of an extra dollar of income. Currently the marginal tax rate on food stamps and Aid to Families with Dependent Children is nearly 80 percent, more than the highest rate inflicted on the richest taxpayer. Under the administration plan, the rate would rise to nearly 90 percent. Robert Greenstein, former head of the Food and Nutrition Service, which runs the food stamp program, says that a mother of three making $8,000 a year already faces the following prospect if she earns an extra dollar. She loses 47 cents in AFDC benefits and 10 cents in food stamps, plus six and a half cents in Social Security taxes, 14 cents in federal taxes, and various state taxes—leaving her with a grand total of 22½ cents for her effort.

Another more quietly stated but no less objectionable feature of the administration's package is a freeze on two deductions allowed in computing benefits.

(continued on page 20)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No More Free Ride... For Union Officials.

Thanks to Harry Beck, American workers no longer have to support unwanted candidates or undesired political causes to keep their jobs.

Harry, who was born and grew up in LaPlata, Maryland, has worked for the telephone company for 20 years. He once belonged to the Communications Workers of America union, but resigned "because the CWA was totally impersonal to anyone except those at the top."

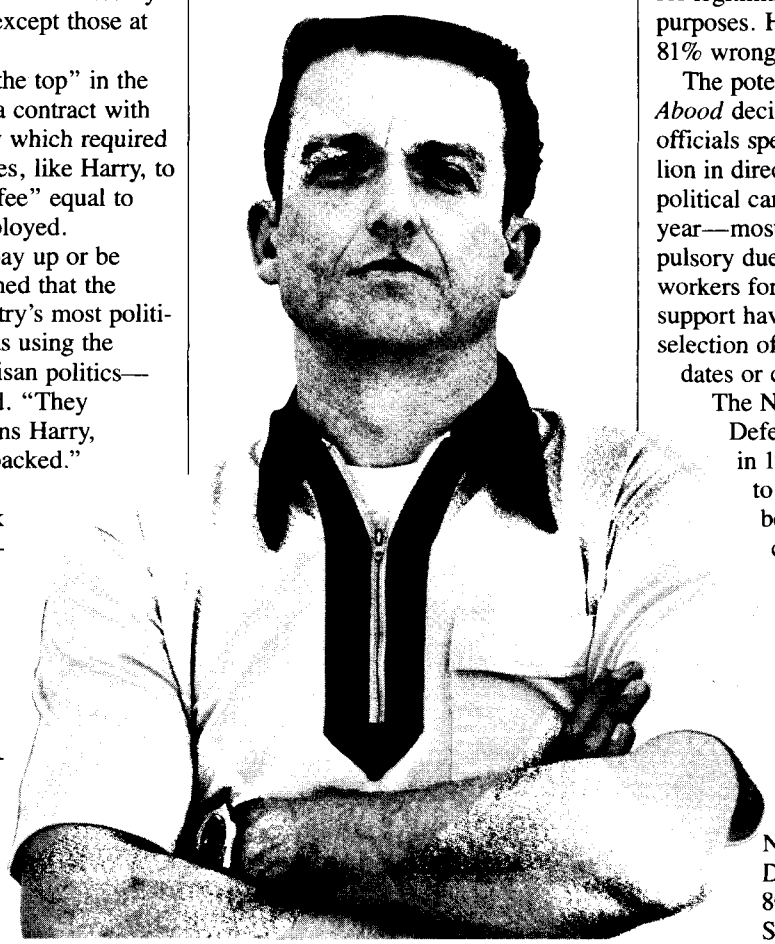
However, "those at the top" in the union then negotiated a contract with the telephone company which required all non-union employees, like Harry, to pay CWA an "agency fee" equal to union dues to stay employed.

Harry Beck had to pay up or be fired. But then he learned that the CWA, one of the country's most politically active unions, was using the "agency fees" for partisan politics—and that made him mad. "They backed people," explains Harry, "I just wouldn't have backed."

With the help of the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, suit was brought against the CWA union by Harry and 19 other telephone company workers. And on March 16, 1979, in an historic decision, a Federal court ruled that a union's collecting or spending of compulsory fees for any purpose other than collective bargaining violates the Constitutional rights of employees who object.

It was the first time that a Federal court had declared that union political spending from mandatory "agency fees" is an infringement upon the rights to free speech and association enjoyed by private sector workers.

Similar protection was established for public employees in 1978 in the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Abood v. Detroit Board of Education*—another case supported by the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation.



The Beck case acquired added significance in August 1980 when a Special Master, appointed by the court, found that the CWA had spent only 19% of the union's total dues income for legitimate collective bargaining purposes. He recommended that the 81% wrongly spent be refunded.

The potential impact of the *Beck* and *Abood* decisions is enormous. Union officials spend an estimated $100 million in direct and "in-kind" support on political campaigns in a single election year—most of it raised through compulsory dues or "agency fees." The workers forced to pay for this political support have rarely any voice in the selection of the union favored candidates or causes.

The National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, established in 1968, provides free legal aid to workers whose rights have been violated as a result of compulsory unionism. It is presently supporting more than 100 court cases involving the rights of employees across the nation.

If you'd like to help workers like Harry Beck, we'd like to hear from you.

National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation
8001 Braddock Road
Springfield, Virginia 22160

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Every food stamp recipient is allowed a standard deduction of $85. Recipients also can deduct any combination of housing and work-related child care expenses which exceeds half of their income, up to $115 a month. Stockman wants to freeze these deductions at their current levels, permitting inflation to lower their real value and thus reducing benefits to all food stamp recipients. The freeze in the shelter deduction in particular is aimed mostly at the very poorest recipients, because they are the ones whose housing costs are most likely to take more than half of their income. The freeze in the deduction allowed for work related child care costs will further discourage industry among the poor. The most democratic change is leaving the standard deduction where it is, since it will hurt everyone on food stamps.

These changes undoubtedly will save the federal government some money in the immediate future. It will do so, however, only by worsening the lot of everyone on food stamps, particularly the "truly needy" President Reagan vowed to protect, and those with the wit and drive to attempt to improve their position. By placing new obstacles in the way of the working poor, the president may help to sentence millions of people to permanent reliance on welfare. The worst to be said of his food stamp proposals is that they will frustrate his own avowed goals to reward work, penalize sloth, and stimulate productive energies. This is not a conservative welfare proposal, just a stingy one. The only thing it conserves—and with a vengeance—is welfare dependency.

Stephen Chapman

Stephen Chapman is an editorial writer and columnist for the *Chicago Tribune*.

'An inquiry into the causes and consequences of inequality.'

Rich Nations, Poor Nations

by Charles Krauthammer

It is estimated that 150 million Africans face famine this year. They will need millions of tons of emergency food aid and, as usual, it will come almost exclusively from the West. The justification for giving this aid seems obvious. Sharing our bounty with the less fortunate of the world is an act of generosity and common humanity.

But many third world leaders reject this attitude as hypocritical and patronizing. For them inequity is evidence of injustice. Aid is not charity; it is their due. Julius Nyerere, president of Tanzania, has stated the case unequivocally: "In one world, as in one state, when I am rich because you are poor, and I am poor because you are rich, the transfer of wealth from the rich to the poor is a matter of rights; it is not an appropriate matter for charity."

Another view, more tailored to Western sensibilities, has been advanced by Willy Brandt and the 17 other members of his Independent Commission (Katherine Graham, Edward Heath, etc.) in their "North-South" report. The report's subtitle, "A Strategy For Survival," summarizes their claim that helping developing nations is fundamentally in Western self-interest.

Nyerere and Brandt may present different rationales, but they differ little on the solution: a new international economic order that would massively transfer resources and economic power from the West to the developing world. The Brandt report spells out the details: doubling aid and loans, removing the North-South aid flow from the "whims" of domestic politics and of economic cycles by introducing "automaticity," levying an international tax to finance third world exports, controlling and regulating transnational corporations, granting more power to receiving nations over the decisions of multilateral lending institutions like the World Bank, and "restructuring" and forgiving outstanding debt. The UN and its multi-acronymed agencies have been hard at work on behalf of the new order, producing a flood of documents, conference reports, and resolutions. But the real impetus came from outside the UN, from the spectacular success of a lucky few third world countries in quadrupling oil prices in 1973. For most of the third world this development, although economically disastrous, was psychologically intoxicating. In UN resolution after resolution, they too demanded seats at the table of the rich. They justified their claim on the grounds of simple justice. "If the rich nations go on getting richer and richer at the expense of the poor," said Nyerere, "the poor of the world must demand a change." It is a global version of Proudhon's dictum that property is theft: we are rich because they are poor, and vice-versa. Is it true?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Their case rests on two assumptions: first, that wealth is a function of extraction and not production, and second, that colonialism and neocolonialism (the transnational corporations) are the instruments of this extraction. The first assumption was refuted in the 18th century by Adam Smith, and in this century by the remarkable postwar prosperity of non-colonial, resource-poor countries like Japan. The disastrous economic results when several African countries expropriated the wealth of their Asian minorities demonstrates the futility of extraction as a means of building national wealth.

Is third world poverty the consequence of colonialism? Many of the richest countries in the first world are former colonies: for example, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. In Asia, those countries that had the most extensive contact with Western ideas, technology, and trade—Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong—are among the most advanced. In sub-Saharan Africa, the British introduced modern currency, health, education, and the wheel. Zimbabwe's colonial history reaches into 1979, and apart from South Africa, it is the most economically developed country in Africa.

The economic case against what is called neocolonialism is equally weak. The list of the most rapidly developing third world countries is almost identical with the list of those most heavily penetrated by transnational corporations—Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela, Malaysia, Taiwan, South Korea. Conversely, those countries that have had the least colonial experience—Afghanistan, Nepal, and Ethiopia, for example—are among the most backward in the world. Aboriginal and desert tribes that had no contact with the West remain in the economic dark ages. Canada, on the other hand, has a long history of French and British colonialism, followed by massive penetration by American corporations. It also enjoys one of the highest standards of living and most advanced economies in the world. Colonialism is an affront to human dignity, but it does not provide an answer to the question: why are countries poor?

A MORE FASHIONABLE version of the argument that the West is responsible for third world poverty is based on a kind of ecological colonialism—the world is poor because the West is devouring its resources. The charge is usually directed at the US. A classic example is the complaint that the United States, with only six percent of the world's population, consumes 30 percent of its oil. But in highly industrialized nations, energy consumption is inevitably high because much is being produced. That is why even the highly efficient Japanese have 10 times the per capita oil consumption of developing countries. The relevant measure of wastefulness is not consumption of oil per capita but consumption of oil per dollar of GNP produced. The Brandt report complains that one American uses as much energy as 105 Sri Lankans. It does not say that for every $1,000 of GNP produced, the US consumes two and a half barrels of oil, while for developing countries and Japan the average is about two. Given America's continental size and mechanized agriculture, the discrepancy is not unreasonable. Furthermore, the argument is that we are plundering (at $35 a barrel) the resources of others. But if we look at the relevant measure of plunder—oil imports—US consumption on a GNP basis is about half Japan's.

We are also accused of wasting the world's food. While US per capita caloric intake is high (though less than that of Bulgaria or Poland), the relevant fact regarding third world poverty is that the US is an enormous net food exporter. Some might feel guilty about eating a Big Mac while there is still hunger in the world. That may be an argument for greater generosity on the part of the US. It is not an argument that the US causes third world poverty.

THE CAUSES of third world poverty are more mundane, if less politically useful. They are population, politics, oil, and underdevelopment itself.

Every five days the world's population increases by a million people, and 90 percent of them are in the third world. The results have been disastrous. Population growth has almost completely wiped out the substantial economic gains of developing nations. In the 1960s and 1970s, developing nations—even oil-importing developing nations—had economic growth rates far in excess of that of the developed world. But more than half these gains were offset by massive surges in population. In 1950 Africa imported almost no food. In the next quarter-century food production increased at a

Please Notify Us

New Address:

Name (please print)

Address

City State Zip

ATTACH LABEL HERE for address change or inquiry. If you are receiving duplicate copies of *TNR* please send both labels. If moving, list new address above.

Send to: Subscription Service Department, The New Republic, P.O. Box 955, Farmingdale, NY 11737.

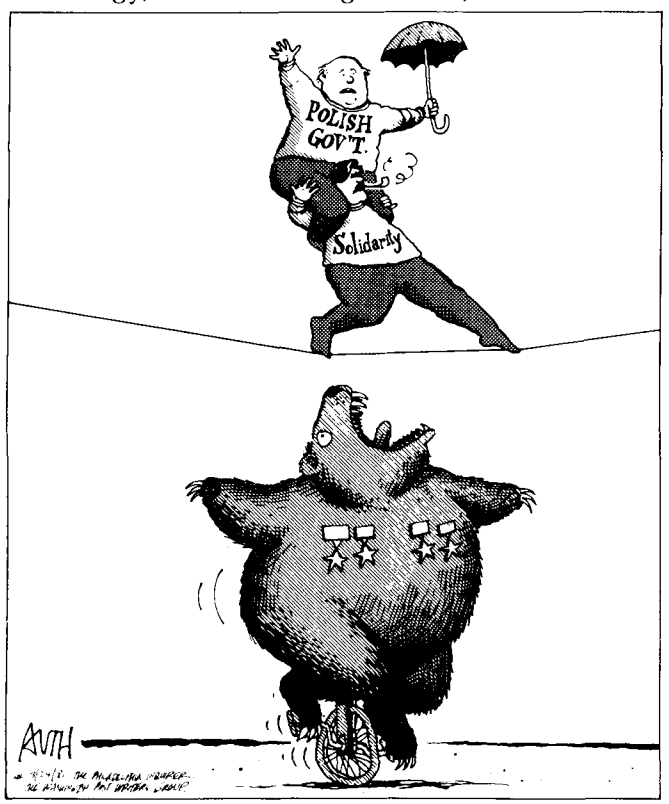
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rate exceeding two and a half percent per year. But at the same time, demand was growing at three percent a year. As a result, a country like Zaire, a net food exporter only 10 years ago, now spends more than a third of its foreign exchange earnings on food imports. Arguments can be marshalled on both sides as to whether poverty is a cause of high fertility. But there can be no question that high fertility is a cause of poverty. One cannot improve per capita income when one is producing more capita than income.

Much third world hardship is the product of disastrous political decisions and economic models. What dictatorship, chaos, and war have done to fertile Uganda is well known. What Nyerere's utopian socialism has done to Tanzania is not. Even sympathetic Marxist economists have concluded that his forced collectivization program was an economic calamity. In 1972-74, it caused an agricultural production crisis so severe that Tanzania, once essentially self-sufficient in food, became and has remained a massive food importer and a sad dependent of foreign lenders and aid disbursers.

The vast majority of developing countries are oil importers. They have been particularly hard hit by OPEC price rises. During the 1960s and 1970s many had turned from subsistence to cash crops in the hopes of generating foreign exchange for investment and industrial growth. They have been ruined by OPEC. Their cash crops now pay the huge oil import bills. Little is left for development, and since exportable crops had replaced the original subsistence agriculture, whole countries have been left facing famine.

The wealth of the West derives from its advanced technology, modernized agriculture, and industrial plant. These developments, in turn, rest on certain political institutions, a scientific ethos, and, not incidentally, the sacrifices of previous generations of workers. It should be a source of neither surprise nor guilt that preindustrial nations with primitive agriculture and underdeveloped and labor-intensive industry produce fewer goods for their people. In other words, they are poor.



Auth

TO ITS CREDIT the Brandt report does not blame third world poverty on the West. It blames nature. The villains are drought, flood, disease, and fuel shortages. Even OPEC price shocks are treated as mysterious and vague changes in the economic climate. And the population explosion is seen as a severe problem which makes economic development all the more urgent since it will reduce the need for having more children.

If for Brandt the West is not the cause of third world poverty and if generosity is not the correct motive for giving aid, how does he justify the new international economic order in its massive transfers of wealth? The appeal is to self-interest. If mass poverty is allowed to continue, i.e., if the Brandt program is not implemented, the world faces ecological, military, and economic disaster.

To say that the world cannot exist half rich and half poor is uplifting, but it is a historical error all the same. No one denies that without increased aid many in the developing world will suffer. It is more difficult to argue that without increased aid the world threatens to come to an end. Brandt correctly points out such ecological consequences of third world poverty as deforestation and desertification in sub-Saharan Africa as wood and topsoil are consumed and not replaced. But it is at least equally plausible to say that the ultimate ecological calamity is an industrialized third world of eight to 15 billion people (the Brandt report population estimates for the next century). If the relatively small populations of the West have substantially polluted North America and Western Europe, one can only imagine what a fully industrialized world would look like.

According to Brandt, our own economic prospects are equally bleak. Western prosperity is impossible, he says, unless the West creates new sources of demand in the third world by transferring to it huge amounts of money. This is Keynesian demand stimulation on a global scale. Some skepticism is in order here. After all, we already have been engaged in a similar transfer experiment with OPEC, and ever since we have staggered from one recession to another, interrupted only by periods of stagnation and inflation. Furthermore, the persistence of high inflation has made Western governments reluctant to use large deficits to prime the pump of domestic demand. It is hard to see why countries trying to control their own consumption should risk hyperinflation by incurring large deficits to stimulate demand abroad.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The final threat is world chaos, a euphemism for a cataclysmic revolt of the South. But the prospect of a North-South war is certainly not a serious one. Of the wars since World War II, almost all have been between third world countries over national, territorial, and tribal grievances—rarely over economic disputes. There is no monolithic South, just as there is no monolithic North. And besides, the clear threat to humanity's existence is from conflict between the Eastern and Western blocs.

More subtly, the Brandt report hints at the threat of economic chaos. Unless the West agrees to a rearrangement of economic conditions, as it did with OPEC, the South will withhold its products and bring the West to its knees. But, in fact, in recent years there has been no successful attempt to establish a cartel in any commodity apart from oil. Such a development is not impossible. But Brandt is appealing to Western self-interest. If that is the case, it is simply poor salesmanship to advocate surender of money and power now in order to avoid the remote prospect of future economic retaliation.

One quarter where Brandt's salesmanship has elicited no response is the Soviet bloc. They had no representative on the Brandt commission. They adhere to the Nyerere position that colonialism is responsible for third world poverty and, therefore, they are free from responsibility. They give almost no multilateral aid to the third world and most of their bilateral aid goes to prop up dependencies like Cuba and Vietnam. Brandt often alludes to Soviet refusal to work for the new order, but he doesn't understand the reason for it. "I have been assured by Soviet leaders and those of Eastern European countries that they view mankind's common problems with great seriousness," says Brandt. But they still seem to be missing the "logical step" of recognizing that global development is in their interest.

In fact, the Soviets distinguish self-interest from altruism more keenly than Brandt imagines. If we could shed enough of our guilt and self-deception, we could see that the Soviets are right. Helping other nations out of poverty is in the interest of the recipient and not necessarily of the donor. Paternalistic as it may sound, giving aid is an act of generosity. And that, indeed, is the best reason to do it.

Guatemala's leaders are making their country into a new domino.

The Next El Salvador

by J. Michael Luhan

As the Reagan administration buttresses El Salvador with new weaponry and Green Berets, it is in the process of reviewing whether to fortify neighboring Guatemala. The administration did not propose resumption of military aid to Guatemala for this year, but it's clear that powerful figures in the Reagan camp are anxious to prevent it from becoming another victim on what Secretary of State Alexander Haig describes as the communist "hit list" in Central America. Military aid to Guatemala was reduced gradually under President Jimmy Carter in response to mounting evidence of massive human rights violations by the regimes of General Kjell Langerud Garcia and his successor in 1978, General Romeo Lucas Garcia. Lucas finally decided to refuse further aid, saying huffily that Washington could not demand concessions in how Guatemala conducted its internal security affairs. According to his argument, such demands amounted to "intervention," while merely providing aid did not.

Now Washington is reviewing the future of US-Guatemalan relations. At a recent House hearing, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State John Bushnell, a Carter administration holdover, testified that military aid was not being extended partly because Guatemala could afford to buy its own weaponry and partly because reports of government human rights violations "raise the question" of whether US aid would be legal. At the same time, though, other top Reagan officials are likely to favor a deepening US involvement in Guatemala, should it seem necessary. These include White House aide Michael Deaver, whose public relations firm formerly represented the Guatemalan conservative group Amigos del Pais, and National Security Council staffer Roger Fontaine, who was quoted in the *Miami Herald* last July as saying that "it's pretty clear that Guatemalans will be given what aid they need in order to defend themselves against an armed minority which is aided and abetted by Cubans." As with El

J. Michael Luhan was a Peace Corps volunteer in San Juan Comalapa from 1976 to 1979 and recently spent four months in Guatemala as a visiting journalist.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Salvador, the Reagan administration may get fixated with the specter of revolution exported from Cuba.

In Guatemala, however, it's unnecessary for anyone to introduce terrorism from outside; the terrorism systematically conducted by the government is sufficient. Ever since Lucas gained power, he and the generals backing him have been asking for a revolution by eliminating (i.e., assassinating) the political middle ground and thereby leaving armed insurrection as the only alternative for the opposition.

The only liberal party of major consequence is the Christian Democratic party, which until recently held three seats in Congress and numerous mayoralties and governorships. Since August at least 36 of the party's top leaders have been murdered. Marco Vinicio Cerezo, the second-ranking CD official who accused the government of complicity in the assassinations in a Washington press conference several months ago, has narrowly escaped three attempts on his life in the past eight weeks.

The country's other liberal party, the United Revolutionary Front, never has been permitted to get off the ground. Within days after its first convention in 1979, founder Manuel Colom Argueta was gunned down in an operation that FUR spokesmen and Argueta's family charged was directed from a police helicopter. Party leaders routinely receive threats on their lives and rarely make public appearances.

HISTORICALLY speaking, such violence might be dismissed as standard build-up for the upcoming 1982 elections. But besides the urban repression that is standard in Guatemalan politics, unbridled military violence now is taking place in the countryside which, in the end, may be more important.

Conventional wisdom has held that if the rural Indians ever were organized effectively, Guatemala's social and political structure would crumble. The society is dominated by ladinos, people of Spanish origin, but more than half the population is Indian. Indians are the backbone of the labor force of the export agriculture sector, Guatemala's main source of foreign exchange earnings, and in recent years have entered urban industry to supplement subsistence farm income.

By tradition Indians are staunchly conservative, suspicious not only of non-Indians, but of other Indians from different tribes and villages. Protestant fundamentalism, which is challenging Catholicism as the Indians' principal religion, preaches strict allegiance to existing social and political institutions. But economic forces are beginning to undermine the Indians' traditionalism. Inflated prices of dietary staples, especially beans, have seriously reduced the purchasing power of the meager wages paid to the roughly 600,000 migrant laborers who descend from the western highlands for three to six months each year to harvest the coffee, cotton, and sugar-cane crops on the south coast. These laborers lately have become more responsive to the overtures of peasant unions to unite and strike for improved pay.

The unions have been able to exploit their opportunity by using Indian organizers who can communicate directly with the workers in their several Mayan-derived dialects. The Peasant Unity Committee (CUC), an Indian-dominated union, mounted a sugar-cane workers' strike in 1979 and another among coffee pickers in 1980 that succeeded in forcing congressional legislation to increase minimum wages from one dollar per day to $3.20. Actually, however, few landowners have paid them.

Meanwhile, the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua and the fighting in El Salvador have so skewed political perceptions in Guatemala that peasant and worker unionists are viewed by the jittery government and military as communist insurgents in sheeps' clothing, lumped together with the various guerrilla factions operating in the country as major threats to national security. As the ability of unions to disrupt the economy's production has grown, so has the Lucas administration's intolerance of it.

Government repression has been ferocious. Last June, 27 directors of the National Workers Confederation were kidnapped from a board meeting by plainclothes detectives and have not been seen since. The international press attributed a campaign against the Coca-Cola workers' union, which resulted in the assassinations of nine union members last year, to the chief of police, reportedly working in consort with the Guatemalan bottler's American manager, John C. Trotter.

The most intense and barbarous repression has been directed at CUC, which originally operated openly but which has been forced to operate clandestinely since late 1979. In trying to break the union's popular support among the Indians, the government has precipitated more radicalism than it has deterred, and may be creating more enemies than it is equipped to handle.

A TEXTBOOK EXAMPLE of this process has occurred in San Juan Comalapa, a community of 8,000 Indians located 40 miles northwest of Guatemala City. A small group of CUC activists began trying to recruit members into the union in early 1980 by distributing leaflets around Comalapa and holding several town meetings in the central park. Its chances of success then appeared to be extremely limited because enough Indians in the town own good land that few need to migrate to the south coast to supplement their incomes.

The government didn't see it that way. In March an alleged CUC leader named Nehemias Cumez was kidnapped by four armed and masked thugs when he was on his way home one night from the office of the local National Reconstruction program he had headed since the 1976 earthquake. He has never reappeared and is assumed dead. Despite a request by local residents for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a government investigation, no suspects have been produced.

In May the army established a base of 80 soldiers with armored support on the outskirts of Comalapa for the ostensible reason of "protecting" the citizens, though the town had not had a single homicide (Cumez excepted) in more than 40 years. Since the arrival of the soldiers, at least 50 villagers have been murdered—dragged from their homes, off the street, or out of buses traveling to or from the capital, tortured and killed, their bodies left lying around town or in its immediate environs. Several families have lost three or more males, but the victims have also included a 55-year-old woman, several teenage girls, and a three-day-old baby.

The assassins invariably dress in civilian clothes with black woolen ski masks but carry heavy-caliber submachine guns reportedly identical to the Galil assault rifles toted by the soldiers during their daily patrols through town, and wear the same black-laced boots. The kidnappings always occur at night after the soldiers have returned to their camp, and none of the kidnappers has ever been caught.

IF THIS COMBINATION of circumstances was not enough to convince Comalapans that the army was responsible for the violence, a spectacular massacre in February 1981 provided whatever remaining evidence was necessary. On February 9, soldiers manning a roadblock on the main accessway into Comalapa stopped a bus en route to the village to check for weapons and to examine the documents of the passengers. They detained a young male whose name appeared on a sheet of paper carried by one of the soldiers, which passengers on the bus said was the "death list" of suspected CUC collaborators compiled by government informers in Comalapa.

The arrested youth's in-laws in Comalapa were notified of his detention by witnesses to the incident who feared for his safety. His mother-in-law, Marie Isabel Tuyuc, immediately gathered the family's available cash savings and walked to the army camp to bargain with the senior officer for the youth's release. The officer denied any knowledge of his whereabouts. She returned the following day with more cash she had borrowed from her neighbors, but was again refused any information. Neighbors and relatives said she became abusive to the officer in the presence of other soldiers, and when she returned to her home that afternoon appeared distraught. That evening, as she prepared dinner for her four daughters and two sons, two carloads of armed men broke down the house's thin plywood door and murdered all seven of them in a hail of gunfire heard throughout the village. Spent cartridges recovered from the scene by neighbors indicated the weapons used were Galil assault rifles and Uzi submachine guns. The killings were reported three days later in the press and attributed, as in all cases of official violence, to "unknowns."

In addition to demonstrating beyond a reasonable doubt the army's complicity in the town's persecution, the family's murders made other things clear as well. The army's objective wasn't just to eliminate CUC collaborators, but to terrorize the population so thoroughly that opposition to the government in any form would be discouraged: innocents would be just as accountable as the guilty. The number of victims deemed necessary to prove this point, judging by the murder of an entire family for the transgression of one member, never would be prohibitively high. Most significantly, dialogue between residents and the army regarding these tactics was obviated. The people were expected to accept whatever actions the army took.

This sort of mayhem in dozens of rural villages in Guatemala produced a body count estimated at roughly 4,000 in 1980, but if Comalapa is a representative case, the number of deaths probably was much higher. Of the 50 deaths that definitely occurred between March 1980 and February 1981 in Comalapa, only 20 were reported in the national press. Many persons have disappeared and may never be found unless they turn up in one of the mass graves discovered occasionally in deep ravines cutting through the mountainous countryside.

The terror sown by the army and its paramilitary appendages like the Death Squad, Eye For An Eye, and the Secret Anti-Communist Army has created, in turn, economic havoc among the peasantry. As many as half of the adult and adolescent males in Comalapa have had to flee the village, leaving their families shorthanded in tending to the vital bean, corn, and wheat crops. Many families now must rent or sell portions of their land to sharecroppers, which has cut into income correspondingly. The sprawling barrios of Guatemala City contain thousands of unemployed Indian men seeking safety in anonymity.

THE GUERRILLA forces, predictably, are reaping the major benefits from the chaos. The bitterness inculcated by the army's indiscriminate killing of Indians' friends and relatives has provided the necessary motivation for growing numbers to take up arms, and the desperate financial situations of their families have left them little to lose. The insurgent groups in Guatemala historically have been led and populated by disaffected ladinos, particularly university students. But the Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms, a militant faction that emerged in 1978, is said to be almost 100 percent Indian, and the Guerrilla Army of the Poor has added hundreds of Indians to its ranks in the past two years.

Washington's contentions about Cuban activity being on the rise in Guatemala may be true, but Cuban advisers would be so many captains without ships if not for the army's clumsy bullying. Indeed, the Guatemala security forces appear to be both their own government's and Washington's worst enemy in laying the foundation for imminent revolution.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books and the Arts

Stanley Kauffmann on films

Still Ringing

Cloning may be new in science, but it's old in Hollywood. Got a successful star? Clone him/her. Sigourney Weaver is patently being groomed to be another Jane Fonda. You don't have to adore everything Fonda has done to be mild about Weaver's chances. Now comes Jessica Lange, first noted in the remake of *King Kong*, whom some apparently see as a new Faye Dunaway. Lange can wear clingy cheap clothes provocatively, she has blunt sensual features, so in her new film she is put through a lot of sweat and sultriness to remind us of the early Bonnie in *Bonnie and Clyde*. But Dunaway—sometimes, anyway—is an actress of sustained power. No hint of this yet from Lange.

Her new film is another remake, James M. Cain's *The Postman Always Rings Twice*—which makes eight rings because this is the fourth filming. The French did one in 1939, Visconti did one in Italy during World War II (without authorization; his producers may have been banking on an Axis victory so there'd never be trouble about the rights), and there's the Lana Turner-John Garfield version, 1946. The French version is the only one I haven't seen, but it would have to be abysmal to be the worst of the four, because this new attempt is very bad.

We get a hint of this before we see anything. Under the credits Michael Small's music is so schmaltzy that it makes Max Steiner sound like Monteverdi. Yes, the picture is set in the 1930s, but nothing else in the film is intrinsically reflexive, so it's hard to believe that this hokey music is meant to set the period. Besides, later on when Jack Nicholson forces Lange to their first sexual encounter on a kitchen table, the music idles along with quiet lyricism. It's one of the worst film scores of recent times—say, the past month.

Nicholson is almost becoming a clone of himself. Since *Easy Rider*, by no means his first picture, he has, almost alternately, shown and hidden great talent. His wool-capped clever maniac in *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* is one of the deeply etched icons in the American film gallery. But in *Postman* he looks a good deal of the time as if he hadn't recovered from the *Cuckoo's Nest* lobotomy: his forehead seems to have moved permanently closer to his eyebrows—an impression fostered by his furrowed feeble imitations of his previous force. He seems to be trying to remember how good he once was and how he got that way, he seems to be leaning on our memory of his past work. In short, his own clone.

The role of the stud vagabond, as written here, is stock; and Nicholson makes not one move to nudge it past platitude. Here he is again (we feel), the raunchy footloose male, attractive through irresponsibility, who has raised hell with marriages in innumerable novels and films and plays. In a picture whose very being depends on our conviction that two people are drowning helplessly in a sexual tide, what we get are puppets—the musky wife, the fond-blind husband, the crotchy newcomer—taking up traditional positions and going through mechanical strophes.

David Mamet, who wrote the adaptation, has poured out theater plays in the last five or six years, two of which—*The Water Engine* and *American Buffalo*—were good enough to raise expectations here. Dashed. Admittedly, Cain's novel is not so good as one remembers: some of the writing lapses out of tension into slush. ("I kissed her. Her eyes were shining up at me like two blue stars. It was like being in church.") But it has two qualities that still hold. The structure is like an arrow flight, except for the episode with the puma-hunting girl (which is worsened in the film). And Cain is careful to make his lovers pathetic—not sympathetic, which would kill it—but pathetic victims of moral weakness. Mamet's screenplay hashes up both these qualities. The structure is tugged out of shape (an episode in a bus station, for instance); the line of the lovers' involvement is zigged and zagged; and nothing of the woman's past is clarified. Puppets are what they start as and remain. And some of the dialogue is quaint. "You scum," Lange says to Nicholson, the man with whom she has planned and committed her husband's murder.

And the "twice" of the title is left out. The quintessential irony of the story is that a man who commits murder and gets away with it is later found guilty of a killing he did not commit. (It's the same twist as in C. S. Forester's *Payment Deferred*, which was written earlier.) But this film ends with Lange's accidental death in a car smash, with nothing of what follows. The implication is less than faint that Nicholson will be arrested for murdering her, will be tried and executed.

But maybe that castrated ending was the director's idea, not Mamet's. The director was Bob Rafelson, and the film is another slope on *his* toboggan slide. His first film, *Head* (1968), had some zany charm. His next, *Five Easy Pieces*, showed that he had really serious possibilities. Then came *The King of Marvin Gardens*, which showed only imitative seriousness, then *Stay Hungry*, which stayed hungry. Still, though it was hard to expect first-line work from Rafelson

Films Worth Seeing

Kagemusha. Kurosawa's grand, formal, gorgeous "dance" of war in 16th-century Japan. The term "epic" made clear.

Nine Months. A young Hungarian woman struggles for selfhood in a society supposedly egalitarian. Lili Monori is wonderful.

Oblomov. A good Soviet version of Goncharov's great novel. Slightly untidy, but with much of the needed, lovely dreaminess.

Raging Bull. A prizefight film for those who hate prizefight films. Full of the fury peculiar to American cities. Robert De Niro splendid.

SK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

any longer, he showed enough verve so that some good program pictures still seemed possible. But he sunk *Postman* with ineptitude and cheapness.

He engaged Ingmar Bergman's master cinematographer, Sven Nykvist, then encouraged or permitted Nykvist to shoot the film in plummy colors that visually contradict the story's lithe line. Over and over Rafelson repeats the device of having a character walk from the background into an immense close-up, which not only becomes a tedious movement but nullifies the effect of closeups. Over and over, like Kazan at his worst, he pushes the camera into the middle of physical violence only to lessen immediacy.

For the sexual heat that ought to bake the film, Rafelson substitutes explicitness. Instead of sexual looks and sniffings, Rafelson *shows*. He shows us Nicholson's hand groping Lange's groin, he shows Nicholson performing cunnilingus. (First time I've seen it outside porno since *I Am Curious Yellow*.) When Rafelson decides to be sexually symbolic, he's equally deft. After the first time that Lange has made love with Nicholson, she prepares for bed, later that night, with her husband; the unaware husband plays *La donna è mobile* on the phonograph. (Woman, in case you missed it, is fickle.) Then he follows it with the seduction duet from *Don Giovanni*. When Lange comes down to the kitchen for something, where Nicholson is sitting and listening, she carries a cat in her arms. The cat/pubis connection wasn't new when Erich von Stroheim used it in *Queen Kelly* (1928). Throughout, Rafelson's work is all grabs, no style, and most of the grabs are at pictures he remembers and at exploitations now permissible.

Cain's story, if you've forgotten, is about a Depression drifter who is hired as a mechanic by the Greek owner of a garage-cum-diner in California. The Greek has a wife younger than himself and not Greek. (In the novel she has a lot of ethnic loathing for her husband which at least helps to characterize and motivate her.) Cain wasn't concerned to show the hell into which two lovers plunge themselves by murdering the woman's husband, which was what Zola had done in *Thérèse Raquin*, he wanted to dramatize the immorality of egotism, the fact that there is no reliable bar between gratification-as-ethics and murder. Rafelson and Mamet reduce the lovers to objects of our smirking recognition ("Oho, so that's the setup!"), abetted by the trite portrayal of the husband—John Colicos—as that same old wine-bibbing, life-loving European innocent strayed in from *They Knew What They Wanted*. All the people involved here, laboring diligently together, have turned out an empty and odious film.

Robert Brustein on theater

The Trashing of Edward Albee

Edward Albee has become the raw flesh of the American theater. The crunching noises the press pack makes while savaging his recent plays are a startling contrast to the slavering sounds they once made in licking his earlier ones. Suddenly, the daily reviewers have become as mean and ornery about Albee as we poor scriveners for the magazines. It's open season on the unfortunate man, and the tearing of sinews and bones gets more ferocious with each new offering. A more sensible victim would play dead until the snapping and chewing were over, but even before his last wounds are healed, up pops Albee and writes another play. Is this what brings the froth to the mouths of his former admirers? Or is it his failure to become the major world artist they announced him to be in the 1960s? If each man kills the thing he loves, each critic kills the thing he manufactures; the moguls of the media invariably end up brutalizing the very celebrities they have created. There is not a single serious American playwright over 50—not Edward Albee, not Tennessee Williams, not Arthur Miller—who has been allowed to settle into a distinguished, respected older age. People expect us minority critics to take some bites out of an undeserved or over-inflated reputation, but when the reviewers for the dailies start sharpening their fangs on the icons of Broadway, the prospects for aspiration in the commercial theater become very dim indeed.

Fortunately, Albee shares with Tennessee Williams a recalcitrant nature that keeps him writing in the face of continual disappointments—disappointments that would have dispirited a less determined man long ago. I call this fortunate because, like Williams, Albee has a vein of genuine talent buried somewhere in all that meretricious fool's gold, and there is always a hope, provided he is not discouraged from playwriting, that this will begin to shine again in a work of some consequence. As one of his most persistent critics, I am beginning to regard Albee with a new respect. I don't think anyone has inspired such delicious invective since Ibsen first produced *Ghosts*.

Perverse as this may sound, I'm even willing to say a good word for Albee's new play. His adaptation of Nabokov's *Lolita* contains some of his most vigorous writing since *Virginia Woolf*. With all its flaws, *Lolita* is engrossing, terse, and above all, dangerous—not a trace of that North Shore gentility that characterizes the works of his tea and poltergeist period. Of course the play doesn't do full justice to the novel—what stage adaptation could? But the grounds on which the adaptation is being assailed—that it lacks the warm humanity of the book—are absurd. I suspect the very people who now are speaking so fondly of Nabokov's "classic" in comparison with the play would have been just as repelled and outraged by the novel when it first appeared.

For *Lolita* makes at least two genuinely shocking points—that it is possible to consider the powerful erotic feelings of a grown man toward a pubescent child as romantic rather than "criminal," and that passionate love has components of ruthlessness and cruelty a well as elements of tenderness and generosity. Humbert Humbert's willingness to lie, steal, cheat, marry a woman he despises, even to murder, in order to retain possession of his 12-year-old "nymphet," are the acts of a man who impresses us with the force of his feeling as much as with the perversity of his passion. The moment when he loses Lolita forever to cormorant-devouring time ("great with child—worn—old at 17") has the same heartbreaking poignance as that scene in Colette when the frivolous young gigolo Cheri loses his beloved Leah to corpulent old age. Great artists often try to win sympathy and understanding for characters who

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

might otherwise be considered cruel and contemptible—this was Racine's purpose in *Phèdre* and Dostoevsky's in *Crime and Punishment*. That Nabokov accomplishes this inside a novel of sublime comic dimensions—meanwhile creating a remorseless satire on the mores of lower-middle-class America—helps to establish him as one of the great figures in our literary landscape.

And what of Albee's play? It sacrifices much of the breadth of the novel, and some of its force, but little of its edge. It is, as a matter of fact, a signally brave, if foolhardy, thing to place on the contemporary American stage. It is true that much of the action is not dramatized but narrated through the agency of a character called "A Certain Gentleman"—an "unpopular novelist-professor" who probably represents Nabokov himself. There's nothing wrong with this device in principle—Nabokov himself invented a psychiatrist in the foreword named John Ray to remind us that " 'offensive' is frequently but a synonym for 'original'; and a great work of art . . . by its very nature should come as a more or less shocking surprise." In Albee's hands, the extra-dramatic narrator supplies similar half-ironic aids to an easily offended audience, along with comic footnotes on the scenes. The only problem with the device is that Albee seems more interested in the exchanges between his hero and his creator than in the affair involving Humbert and Lolita, suggesting that he is more animated by the relationship between his two male characters than that between his male and female. For Albee, the central situation is a metaphor for various kinds of love that dare not speak their name, and this occasionally forces him away from his story into Kraft-Ebbing digressions. But at least he is interested in his subject this time, and not just flirting with a literary conceit or a trumped-up situation. Undoubtedly, Vladimir Nabokov is more connected to Albee's motor rhythms than to James Purdy, Giles Cooper, or Carson McCullers—a few of the less congenial writers whose works he has tried to adapt in the past.

As a result, some of the scenes in *Lolita* contain genuinely morbid humor—the funeral of Mrs. Haze, for example, an invention of Albee's. Having discovered Humbert's diaries and tried to shoot him, this mountain of a woman falls down the stairs and breaks her neck (the novel has her die in a car crash). Albee then has her popping up out of her coffin, after all the pious mourners have left, and shouting at the astonished Humbert, "I'll see you in hell!" For obvious reasons, the long 500-night journey Humbert takes with Lolita through motel America was much better done in Stanley Kubrick's movie, but Albee handles their first sexual encounter with an odd combination of crudeness and sensitivity, comedy and poignance, as Humbert impatiently awaits Lolita's emergence from the shower ("The treasure of my loins is at this very moment showering her filthy delectable body"), and discovers that his innocent nymphet has been making love since the age of 11. The major disappointment of the play is the scene in which Humbert chases Quilty, his arch rival, up and down a Hollywood staircase, while emptying two chambers of bullets into his bathrobe. One of the funniest death scenes in literature (and, as performed by Peter Sellers, the best scene in the film), it somehow lacks bite or sweep on the stage, where it is reduced to a minor vaudeville turn, a shadow of a mighty climax.

The play has been staged by a man experienced both in vaudeville and in classical theater, the English director Frank Dunlop, and the touch of vulgarity that sometimes mars his more serious work seems appropriate here. William Ritman has provided a flexible series of sliding panels that keep the action simple and unlocated, through which the company moves with confidence and ease. Albee always has been able to attract good actors, though he has not always used them to the best advantage. In *Lolita*, the cast is uniformly solid. I found Donald Sutherland's Humbert Humbert to be marred by an unfortunate choice in diction which has him impersonating a European by thumping on his consonants, and he is not always equal to the higher moments of passion. But it is a brave performance nevertheless—supple, relaxed, and with just the right combination of lubricity and charm. Ian Richardson, as A Certain Gentleman, at first gives us too much of the elegant middle-aged queen, but ultimately wins us with his wit and poise. Blanche Baker as Lolita—blonde, slender, delicious—appearing first as an innocent teenager, sucking on a red lollipop, then as a seductive sex kitten, and finally as a pregnant housewife, manages the transitions with genuine authority. Shirley Stoler (the female commandant in *Seven Beauties*) is preternaturally gross as Charlotte Haze. And Clive Revill, a transforming actor of the first magnitude, is splendid as the sinister comedian Clare Quilty, biting into his various impersonations with animal gusto.

I don't mean to overpraise *Lolita*; it has its shortcomings. But unlike so much of Albee's recent work, it undeniably lives on the stage. Unfortunately for Albee, life—especially in its more dangerous manifestations—is not what the stage seems to be interested in these days.

The place of workers in American culture.

Imagining Labor

by Irving Howe

That there has long been in the United States a working class numbering in the millions, with needs and interests of its own; that significant aspects of the experience and culture of these workers set them apart, even if not quite so sharply as in Europe, from other social classes; that many American workers have organized themselves into trade unions which together comprise a powerful labor movement, defending the rights of its members and often acting on behalf of social betterment throughout the nation—all of these may seem self-evident statements, indeed, self-evident to the point of the commonplace.

But they are not. The truth is that the working class, both as actuality and idea, has never been wholly accepted in

---

This essay will appear as the introduction to *Images of Labor* (The Pilgrim Press, 132 West 31st Street, New York, NY 10001; $29.95, $16.95 paper), and is reprinted by permission of the publisher. The book contains 32 original art works on American labor. *Irving Howe* teaches literature at CUNY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American society or adequately reflected in American culture. My own recollections from school and college are that trade unions or the workers as a distinct social group rarely were mentioned in classrooms or textbooks. If you look at our popular culture—from comic strips to movies, from novels to television—you will be struck by the extent to which this crucial segment of the American people is blocked out. A film like *Norma Rae* comes to seem notable simply because it is there.

Why should this be so? One reason, I think, is that a recognition of the working class as a major component of American society runs counter to the dominant American myth. That is a myth of a nation of independent craftsmen, small farmers, sturdy businessmen, usually self-employed, sometimes hiring a few "hands," but mostly succeeding through their own industriousness and sobriety. It is a myth closer to the realities of the age of Jefferson, even Andrew Jackson, than the age of Carter and Reagan.

The persistence of this myth in American life is something to marvel at. It increasingly fails to describe our social reality, yet it hangs on. It is utterly inadequate to—indeed, glaringly in contradiction with—the America of giant industries, massive plants, concentrated wealth, enormous multinational corporations. But people want it, need it.

That this myth once had great liberating power in our society and culture; that it still has some attractive moral elements, such as a stress on individual effort and a defense of private life—yes, of course. But in its decline from Ralph Waldo Emerson to Herbert Hoover (and all the mini-Hoovers of later years), it often has disabled us from seeing what is there in front of our nose.

And still we cling to that myth. We cling to its picture of a small-town or pastoral nation, if only because it answers some deep need within us, some overpowering nostalgia. Perhaps it's a case of what historians call "cultural lag," sentiment and idea lagging behind reality. Sometimes this lagging can even serve a useful purpose: it may enable keen criticisms of our social arrangements. Sometimes, I would say more often, this myth is cynically exploited, as in political ballyhoo and corporate advertising. Anti-union corporations appeal to the tradition of "individualism"—as if a solitary worker, unlinked with the workers next to him, could ever be a match for the wealth and

Mary Chesnut's Civil War
edited by C. Vann Woodward

The definitive version of an American classic, edited by a preeminent historian, bears witness to the life and death of the Confederacy.

"As an intimate view of actors and actions of great consequence and as a human picture—tender, outraged, comic—of a great war, there is nothing quite like this book."—*Robert Penn Warren*

"Sure to be hailed by historians, lovers of literature, and anyone with a taste for the human story."
—*Library Journal* $29.95

Matthew Josephson, Bourgeois Bohemian
David E. Shi

In this incisive and thoughtful biography of Matthew Josephson—social critic, award-winning biographer, editor, and author of the muckraking books *The Robber Barons* and *The Politicos*—Shi emphasizes the role of the leftist intellectual in American letters.

"An absorbing story, one that casts light on thirty years or more of our literary and political history."—*Malcolm Cowley*

"[A] brilliant critical biography."
—*Publishers Weekly* $19.95

Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great
Isabel de Madariaga

The first full-scale history of Catherine's spectacular, controversial reign to appear in nearly a century, de Madariaga's authoritative account of the political, social, and economic evolution of Russia provides a fresh and fascinating picture of the Empress's private life, her personality, and her politics.

"[The author's] engrossing narrative is rich with human interest and transports the reader back into 18th-century Russia."
—*Publishers Weekly* $40.00

Yale University Press New Haven, Connecticut 06520

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

power of a giant company!

One reason for the reluctance to acknowledge the sheer idea of an American working class has been the claim—and it has some truth to it—that things in America are "different." American workers, it is said, are not so rigidly held into fixed or limited class positions as workers in Europe. That may also explain why the American labor movement has not been nearly so friendly to socialist ideas as the European labor movement. And as I say, there is some truth to these claims, though with the passage of time, less and less truth. Mainly, however, the idea of the working class as a distinct and major presence in American life has not been fully accepted because of our incorrigible nostalgia for an earlier, simpler America where there were few industrial laborers, few large corporations, few immense cities.

But there is no going back. Whatever else, for good or bad, we cannot go back to this earlier America. It no longer exists, except in isolated pockets here and there. We will either work our way to a more democratically humane and socially just society within the context of advanced industrialism, or we will drift further into a corporate-dominated, bureaucratically managed society. In either case, however, advanced industrialism (or post-industrialism) will remain, and so too will a significant working class and a strong labor movement.

What seems especially strange about these failures in national self-perception is that work as human activity finds a very important place in 19th-century American literature. In Whitman's poems work is lyrically celebrated; in Mark Twain's *Life on the Mississippi* work is lovingly evoked; in Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* work is described with a passion for exact detail. For the most part, however, the work portrayed in 19th-century American literature is that of the independent craftsman—the steamboatman of Twain, the day printer of Whitman. And the same seems to be true for 19th-century American painting.

The worker as we know him and her first appears in a strange, haunting story by Melville, "The Paradise of Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids." Set in a 19th-century factory, this story anticipates the work that we know in factories and shops: the dehumanized labor of men and women tending machines.

> At rows of blank-looking counters sat rows of blank-looking girls, with blank, white folders in their blank hands, all blankly folding blank paper. . . . The human voice was banished from the spot. Machinery—that vaunted slave of humanity—here stood menially served by human beings, who served mutely and clingingly as the slave serves the Sultan.

This anticipation—eerie, moving—of modern factory life is notable for its rarity. Only with Theodore Dreiser's great novel, *Sister Carrie*, in which a young farm girl suddenly finds herself laboring in a Chicago shoe factory, do we fully confront the modern industrial world. Dreiser offers a grueling description of the tediousness and exhaustion of factory labor: "Her hands began to ache at the wrists and then in the fingers, and toward the last she seemed one mass of dull, complaining muscles, fixed in an eternal position, and performing a single mechanical movement. . . ."

Such recognitions are not the rule. It is easier to slip into the clichés of "individualist" nostalgia and bland denial, ignoring the reality of the American workers, pretending they have little or no shared existence. But to block out of our national consciousness the lives of millions upon millions of human beings is a form of snobbery. It is reactionary. It is inhumane.

Once American society entered the era of industrial urbanism in the last third of the 19th century, it underwent a major change in social structure. The dynamic of capitalist development brought a greater concentration of economic power. Now most workers were employed by an impersonal company or corporation. Populations were reshuffled. Millions left the small towns and farms. The craftsman faded from the scene. Lifestyles were adapted to the stringent demands of the factory. No longer—except in a few "light" industries like those manufacturing women's garments—could work be located in the home or done by the family. The lure of business profits led to large-scale manufacturing away from home, outside the family, cut off from familiar community, beyond any previously known structure of work.

More and more, the factory came to be an institution antithetical to humane values. No longer was "sweat" a metaphor for the satisfying reward of a day's toil. Instead it meant work in airless lofts that were often incubators of disease, or on assembly lines with no safety standards. Wages were often as close to subsistence as employers could get away with.

It's roughly at this historical moment, in the latter half of the 19th century, that large-scale unionism was born. There had of course been unions before then, heroic and combative ones earlier in the century. But now, driven by need into the vast new complexes of city and factory, and often consisting of immigrants still confused by their new circumstances in America, the workers began to organize in self-defense.

It was hard. Blood was shed and repressive legislation enacted. Brutal injunctions were issued by union-busting judges. The early years of the American labor movement form a desperate time, not nearly well enough known. It is a time of violent struggle, of strikes kept going through struggle and defeat, of a society still largely operating with the laws of the jungle, a crude notion of "survival of the fittest."

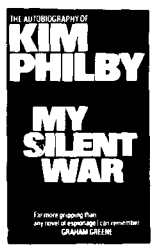
Even in these early, difficult years, the labor movement stressed more than hours and wages, desperately urgent as hours and wages were to millions of people. This country could not

ACADEMY CHICAGO

MY SILENT WAR
by Kim Philby

"Far more gripping than any novel of espionage I can remember."
—Graham Greene

Paper 189 p. $4.95



A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH SECRET SERVICE
by Richard Deacon
"Not only scholarly, but extremely interesting."
—*Sunday Times*
Paper 512 p. $5.95
Photographs

Spy/Counter Spy
by Dusko Popov
"A classic case of espionage."
—Graham Greene
Paper 288 p. $4.95

Academy Chicago
360 N. Michigan Ave.
Chicago, IL 60601

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have survived as a democracy if its working people had not enforced the claims and enlarged the scope of democracy by organizing in protection of their rights. You can always measure the level of democracy in any country by the freedom its workers have to organize unions of their own choosing. But more: the unions struggled for some larger vision of fraternity and decency. They were among the major social groups that campaigned for free, universal public education. They imbued their members with a sense of dignity, the persuasion that they were not just numbered cogs in someone else's machine.

Let's go back a bit, say 100 years. One of the big issues then was the 10-hour day. In New Hampshire, for instance, the legislature limited the working day to 10 hours unless the worker chose to work more, while children under 15 could not work more than 10 hours under any conditions (which tells you something about child labor). Women in Oregon waited until 1903 before legislation limited their working day to 10 hours. Consider the testimony of Frances Perkins, secretary of labor under President Franklin Roosevelt, about women and children working long hours in abysmal conditions in the New England textile mills well into this century. Does anyone with eyes to see and ears to hear suppose that all of these shameful conditions have been ended in America?

In 1912 mill hands in the textile factories of Lawrence, Massachusetts, were earning about as much as their forebears had earned 100 years earlier—an average weekly wage of $8.76 which in slack times could fall below three dollars. When the Massachusetts legislature reduced working hours for women and children under 18 from 56 to 54 hours, the mill owners obliged, but also reduced wages by a like amount. It enraged the mill hands, who walked off the job. By the next day, and without the organizing skills of a union, angry workers shut all the mills in Lawrence. This became one of the great labor struggles in the United States. Instinctively, the strikers turned to an all-industry industrial structure, as against separation by craft. They organized relief, sent children to live with relatives beyond the strike zone. Liberals and reformers provided some money for help. The strike was won, "for Bread and Roses too," with wage increases of five to 25 percent that soon

THE
Washington
REPORTERS
Stephen Hess

Focusing on reporters who cover the U.S. government for the American commercial news media, Hess provides an unusual—and sometimes startling—perspective on Washington newswork. His analysis reveals that "reporters are not simply passing along information; they are choosing, within certain limits, what most people will know about government. The freedom given and assumed by these news workers affects the shape of national affairs."

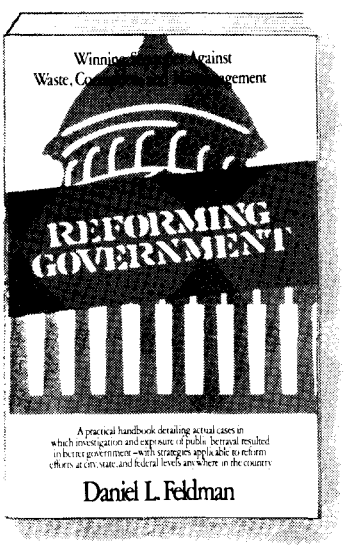
$17.95 *clothbound* / $6.95 *paperbound*

At leading bookstores or directly from

BROOKINGS

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION
1775 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

You can fight the vested interests—and win. Waste, corruption, and mismanagement at any level of government can be effectively combatted—if you understand how the system works and what tools you need to change it. That's precisely the information that a veteran legislative aide gives you in this practical, step-by-step handbook. Getting the facts, building support, implementing the change—it's all in this "fine, fine book."
—Jack Newfield, *Village Voice*



"A valuable book that deserves a wide audience."—David B. Truman, author of *Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion*

At booksellers, or direct from the publisher:

WILLIAM MORROW
Dept. PAL: NLR
105 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016
Please send me_____copy(ies) of REFORMING GOVERNMENT @ $5.95 paperback, $11.95 hardcover. I enclose ☐ check ☐ money order in the amount of $_____. (Add $1.00 per copy for postage and handling plus sales tax where applicable.)

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were extended to more than 200,000 textile workers throughout New England.

There have been hundreds, thousands, of such battles. It turned out that you had to keep fighting all the time, in defense of rights already won, on behalf of improvements long overdue. There was no resting. Unions that fell back on their haunches were soon unions without members, without achievements. Because no matter how much employers and their spokesmen sweet-talked, they were always ready to take the initiative, begin a counterattack.

EFFORTS WERE made to form a national federation of unions: some failed because the times were not yet ripe and the opposition was too fierce, but later others succeeded. The National Labor Union, organized in 1866, had the splendid idea of rejecting within its ranks all distinctions of race or nationality. "We are all," said its head, William Sylvis, "one family of slaves together. The labor movement is a second Emancipation Proclamation." That's about as far as it went, though the president of the Colored National Labor Union, formed just after the Civil War, was seated as a delegate to an NLU convention. When the feminists of the day threatened to scab unless admitted as equals to the union, the delegates grew antagonistic. How much more sensible it would have been to "sign them up" on the spot!

The National Labor Union didn't last long, but it paved the way, and then came a more significant national body, the Knights of Labor, which by the 1880s had close to a million members. A mixture of lodge and union, the Knights practiced all sorts of secret rituals, partly for the fun of it, partly to protect themselves from informers. Flourishing for a time and then declining, the Knights were replaced in 1886 by the American Federation of Labor, the most stable grouping of American unions we've ever had. Even in its youthful fragility, the AFL made a mark by campaigning, under Samuel Gompers's shrewd pragmatic leadership, for the eight-hour day. In language more conservative than earlier unions, though in practice often fighting bitter battles, the AFL usually avoided political and ideological issues and concentrated on "bread and butter." Bread being expensive and butter scarce, this strategy often worked. The AFL became the umbrella group for a number of strong craft unions made up mostly of skilled workers; but millions of industrial workers, supposedly "unorganizable," were ignored. They had to wait until the early 1930s, when the CIO was formed under the colorful leadership of John L. Lewis, the head of the miners' union. Spurred by the wretched circumstances of the Depression years, enabled partly by New Deal legislation, and often staffed by idealistic young radicals, the CIO swept through the country organizing auto, steel, chemicals, rubber, and a bit later hospital and municipal employees. It was an exciting moment—I remember it from my own early adolescence—when hundreds of thousands of workers poured into the unions, went out on sit-down strikes, suddenly showed remarkable gifts of organization and capacities for sacrifice. In 1955 the AFL and CIO came together in one federation.

Strong though it remains, the AFL-CIO still represents only about a fifth of the American working class. Major gains have been made since the days of Franklin Roosevelt and John L. Lewis—don't let anyone tell you otherwise! The "welfare state"—which means a society that doesn't trust to the magical "laws of the market" but intervenes actively on behalf of the poor and helpless—is still very far from what it should be. But the lives of millions of workers are now far better than they were several decades ago. We have old age pensions, Social Security, unemployment insurance, and above all, the right to organize. Even when some hard-bitten corporations tried, in the late 1970s, to bust unions, they had to go against the more or less established norms of the society; in the late 1920s, it was the exact opposite.

Let's be candid. Trade unions are led by men and women, not saints; their membership consists of fallible human beings, not ideal "proletarians." This is to say that trade unions have their faults. Some are very far from what they should be with regard to internal democracy; the record concerning treatment of opposition and dissident groups is spotty. Other unions are hidebound, rigid, and unconcerned with anything but the immediate needs of their members. (Not that there is anything wrong with being concerned with immediate needs!) Still other unions have discriminated against blacks until recently—I'm pretty sure that while there have been major improvements in this respect, there is still room for more. And only recently have unions begun to show an appropriate sensitivity to the demands and needs of women.

The prejudices of our society and the corruptions of our culture necessarily seep into the unions. It could hardly be otherwise, but this makes them a target for criticism. Some of that criticism is valid, some not.

I've already indicated kinds of criticism that seem sensible, but here let me mention two kinds that do not. The first kind comes from sectarian "leftists" who complain that unions collaborate with employers (but they *have* to sign contracts, they *have* to work within the limits of the given situation, even if they are also trying to extend those limits). That unions don't take the lead in making revolutions is entirely understandable, since they aren't organized for that purpose—they are organized to protect the interests of all workers, both the vast majority who don't want revolutions and the tiny minority who say they do. The other kind of criticism comes from high-minded middle-class folk who, from some perch of rectitude, complain that unions aren't sufficiently concerned with "the general welfare." Let's acknowledge that sometimes this is true. But more often it is nonsense. For when unions fight for minimum wage laws or regulations providing safety on the job, they are protecting millions upon millions of people, including many who are not even union members. There's a tendency in American discourse to talk about some abstract "public," but in fact the actual public contains a very large segment of working people. When I read an editorial or hear a speech counterposing the "public" to the unions, I grow suspicious.

I COME from the generation that entered early adolescence just as this country was succumbing to the Great Depression. The desperation, the poverty, the sheer sense of helplessness of those days forms an experience almost impossible to communicate to younger people lucky enough not to have known it firsthand.

My parents had to find jobs in the garment industry once their little store went bankrupt in 1931. I remember my mother coming home exhausted each evening, and ending the week with a $12 paycheck. I remember my father, who stood all day over a steaming press-iron, coming home during the summer months with blisters all over his body. When the great strike of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

garment workers was called by the International Ladies Workers Union in 1933, my folks, who had had no experience with unions before, responded immediately. Like tens of thousands of others, they picketed, they borrowed money for food, they stood fast. The strike over, my mother brought home her first new paycheck: $27. It seemed like heaven: we felt freer, better, stronger. And there was meat on the table. After that, my folks were never active in the union, but they paid their dues faithfully, and if a strike was called, they were the first to go out. This was the ethic I grew up with, the ethic of solidarity. Almost half a century later, I still believe in it.

So when I hear snobs and reactionaries attack unions, I find myself going into a rage. Sure, I know the unions are open to criticism on many counts; but I continue to believe that without them our lives would be far worse than they are. I know for certain that mine would have been far worse.

The unions form a backbone of social strength; they make life a little better for the underpaid, the oppressed; I want them to improve but I want them to grow stronger too.

It is time we recognized, in our social arrangements and our cultural experience, the centrality of the American working class. Much of what passes among us for immigrant history, as well as the history of minority groups, really has to do with the working class. If we don't have as cohesive and visible a "common culture" within the working class of this country as has existed in Europe, that is partly due to the diversity, the newness, the sheer size of America. But dig a little beneath the surface, brush aside the conventional myths and clichés of American middle-class life, and you will find plenty of evidence that workers and their unions ought to be far more prominent in our cultural expression than they are—not in any crude propagandistic sense, but with sympathetic and critical honesty.

The Feudal Style

The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War by Arno J. Mayer

(Pantheon; $16.95)

Nearly 60 years ago Trotsky said "Now for the first time we see and feel that we are not so immediately near to the goal, to the conquest of power, to the world revolution. . . . In 1919 we said to ourselves 'It is a question of months.' Now we say 'It is perhaps a question of years.'" Not only have the years extended to decades without the revolution occurring in the West, but the hopes of its imminence that revived in some circles in Europe and America have been dashed, and a new conservatism seems more strongly entrenched than ever. These experiences have contributed to a tendency among historians to forsake the study of revolutionary movements. Instead they consider the question posed by Barrington Moore Jr., "why men do not revolt," and they analyze the means by which the old ruling groups succeeded in maintaining power, contrary to the hopes of their opponents and indeed to their own fears.

Arno J. Mayer's new book is an attempt to construct a framework of explanation which can be applied to the whole of Europe in the 25 years preceding World War I. His approach is based on the theory, put forward especially by Gramsci, that the success of a ruling class depends on the extent to which it can impose, without the use of force, its hegemony over the other classes so that they come to accept and absorb the ethical, social, and political beliefs of the leading group. By applying such an analytical model to Europe before 1914, Arno Mayer comes up with a theory that will surprise both some conservative and some Marxist historians. There never was a bourgeois revolution; or as Mayer puts it, "There is no disputing the sensational *rise* of the bourgeoisie. Instead, what remains problematical is the congenital inability of the grandees of business and the professions to fuse into a coherent estate or class of more than local dimensions." What happened, he says, is that

> the ascendant and claimant *grands bourgeois* . . . were at a disadvantage in every major respect: social, cultural and political. The future was acknowledged to be theirs, but the nobilities for the present blocked their path. Doubting their own legitimacy and in no position to subvert or conquer the old ruling classes, the new big businessmen and professionals decided to imitate, cajole and join them.

Professor Mayer is thus faced with the problem of what to call this kind of regime. It is not, by definition, a bourgeois state; yet can it rightly be said to be a feudal state? Here Mayer is equivocal. At one point he writes "Down to 1914 the 'steel frame' of Europe's political societies continued to be heavily feudal and nobilitarian," while elsewhere he says "to be sure feudalism had passed into history." Occasionally he seems aware of the difficulties he has imposed on himself by using the word "feudal" to describe several different sorts of societies rather than the original historical ones to which it properly refers. Thus he writes of "postfeudal agrarians" or the "prebourgeois cachet of the French ruling class." One cannot help feeling that by attempting to find a model which will fit every country involved in what he calls the general crisis of Europe he is having to lop off a number of healthy limbs to fit them into his bed of Procrustes. (And Professor Mayer's often opaque and esoteric style sometimes makes his arguments

PUT YOUR BELIEFS INTO ACTION

OPEN Invest in Open Housing

Help fight racial segregation. Invest in a non-profit fund which finances affordable mortgages for minorities and whites making housing moves that foster racially diverse neighborhoods. You can earn 8-10% on 7-20 year $1,000 debentures.

For facts, clip and mail to: NR22

Morris Milgram
Fund for an OPEN Society
1901 East-West Highway, T-2
Silver Spring, MD 20910

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Zip _____

This is not an offer to sell these securities. The offering is made only by the Investment Description—available only in states where these securities may be offered.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

difficult to follow; for example, he uses words strangely—"inurbane bourgeois" to mean the rural middle class—or such unclear expressions as "political catonists" and the "praedial Catholic Church" in 19th-century France.)

However, much of what Arno Mayer says is true, and it is good to be reminded of the capacity for survival of old political and social elites. He has little difficulty in showing that a great part of the wealth of Europe, even in highly industrialized countries, was still in the hands of the large landowners and that therefore they still exercised considerable political power. He demonstrates how eager the new middle classes were for titles and honors awarded by a sovereign who was still the center of a ceremonial state. And even if most of the other states of Europe have changed fundamentally since 1914, much of what he says about England is still true, though occasionally he gets lost in the intricacies of the old regime in Britain: Prime Minister Arthur Balfour was not "Sir Arthur" and although he was later made an earl, he was not the same as Lord Balfour of Burleigh. The book is full of interesting facts: it gives details of the coronation of Czar Nicholas II and the funeral of King Edward VII; it provides precise statistics of the allocation of new titles among the various classes of the Austrian half of Hapsburg monarchy. Yet the mass of detailed information and the battery of statistics still leave us with some doubt about Mayer's general theory.

This is in part because he constantly has to make exceptions in order to account for what actually happened. His model seems to be largely derived from Germany, of which Walter Rathenau once remarked,

> It will be difficult for future writers of German history to understand how, in our time, two class systems could penetrate each other; the first is the survival of the feudal system, the second the capitalist class system. . . . But it will strike him as even odder that the newly arisen capitalist order had first of all to contribute to the strengthening of the feudal order.

This view of Wilhelmine Germany is borne out by the evidence that Arno Mayer cites, although some of the recent contributions to the continuing debate about the problems of "modernization" in Germany, notably Geoff Eley's important *Reshaping the German Right* (Yale University Press), suggest that a new generation of ambitious middle-class men was beginning to challenge the domination of the old aristocratic ruling class by using the new ultra-nationalist organizations such as the Navy League for their own political and social purposes. The new right radicalism was the product of the bourgeoisie and not of the aristocracy.

However, what is true of Germany is not necessarily true of other countries. Arno Mayer recognizes this by repeatedly inserting parenthetical qualifications—"except in France," "except for England"—and introducing examples that contradict his thesis with an apologetic "admittedly" or "to be sure" and even that old misused favorite "the exception which proves the rule." By casting his net so widely Professor Mayer often obscures the point of the interesting comparisons he makes on particular topics. His method seems to me to break down most notably in his treatment of the arts. He maintains that, as he puts it in a characteristic passage,

> Europe's official cultures conspicuously mirrored the tenacious perseverance of preindustrial civil and political societies. In form, content and style, the artifacts of high culture continued to be anchored and swathed in conventions that relayed and celebrated traditions supportive of the old order. The eclectic revival and reproduction of time-honored and venerable styles dominated not only in architecture and statuary but also in painting, sculpture and the performing arts. Museums, academies, churches and universities actively promoted this congruent academic historicism, and so did the state which enlisted historicism to articulate national and regional purposes. Overall, the hegemonic arts and institutions maintained sufficient inner vitality and synoptic coherence to invigorate the *anciens régimes*.

This general argument might be acceptable if the only art patronized by the ruling classes was historical painting or public monuments; and no doubt the collecting of Old Masters by the bankers and industrialists, as analyzed in Francis Haskell's *Rediscoveries in Art* (Cornell University Press), was often inspired by a desire to display their wealth and taste in emulation of the aristocratic collectors of earlier centuries. Yet it is not easy to see what particular aristocratic social values are contained in the work of some of the most popular and commercially successful painters of the 19th century (Rosa Bonheur, for instance, or Bouguereau or Böcklin or Cabanel) who, if one is to link them to a particular class, seem to cater to the specific taste and culture of the new bourgeoisie. If one must provide an explanation of 19th-century art on a class basis, then it is perhaps easier to do so in terms of a predominance of bourgeois values than of the survival of a feudal class.

Mayer's argument makes distinctions between "official cultures" and "successive waves of the avant-garde," whereas one of the most interesting aspects of

THE STRING QUARTET

The first violinist, all of him, follows his arm,
his feet fly around his chair to keep him in balance
as he sways and lunges into the sounds he makes.
This is dance making music of the body.

The face of the second violinist is Unending Passion.
Such expressiveness, such deep response, would rouse
to sexual frenzy the eroded statues of the female saints.
His is the face of music as romance.

The cellist grinds his teeth, clenches his face in spasms
of control to keep down the groan, the song, the wild
lament he lets his bow alone make across the strings.
His is the grimace of dignified loss in the tragic agon.

The violinist sits and plays. Staid. In his face
the years in Brussels, tutelage at the old Conservatoire,
grubbing for meals, going back for practice, practice.
This is music itself as it leaves the body behind.

Barry Goldensohn

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the social history of art in this period is the way in which general cultural perceptions are modified, though often with a delay of several decades, by the experience of what had once been regarded as too advanced to be acceptable. Arno Mayer's treatment of Wagner exposes the problem of treating official culture and avant-garde as two contradictory poles. He admits that Wagner was "a genuine innovator," but his final judgment seems to be conditioned by the fact that Wagner had "repudiated his qualified enthusiasm for the liberating springtime of 1848" and allowed kings and emperors to attend the opening of Bayreuth. As if to give final confirmation of his own verdict, he quotes the view of Max Nordau, of all people, that Wagner's works were a "bleating echo of a faraway past . . . and the last mushroom on the dunghill of romanticism." The phenomenon of Wagner and Wagnerism is too complicated to be dealt with in this summary way and the attempt to fit him into a preconceived stereotype does not help us to understand either a great artist or the impact of his work.

Arno Mayer ends his book with a deeply felt and rhetorical account of the *Weltanschauung* of Europe on the eve of World War I. Although he accepts the currently fashionable view that the war was deliberately started by governments concerned to overcome their insoluble domestic problems, he gives it a different emphasis from that of those historians who see the war as the only way in which landowners, financiers, and industrialists could defeat the rising threat of socialism. For him the war was the last desperate gamble of the old preindustrial ruling classes trying to preserve their ascendancy in the face of the challenge of modernism:

> Under the aegis of the scepter and the miter, the old elites, unrestrained by the bourgeoisie, systemically prepared their drive for retrogression, to be executed with what they considered irresistible armies. They, the horsemen of the apocalypse, were ready to crash into the past not only with swords and cavalry charges but also with the artillery and railroads of the modern world which besieged them.

Arno Mayer does not really explain how this suicidal rush into the abyss was expected to work. Once again a historian tries to fit the complex decisions made by the statesmen of Europe in 1914 into a predetermined scenario, without any further attempt at a detailed analysis which might reveal something other than these apocalyptic considerations.

Moreover, Arno Mayer's thesis does not seem to leave room for one of the most significant aspects of the decades before 1914, the phenomenon of imperialism. Imperialism is hardly mentioned in this book except in connection with the royal pageantry of the British in India and the opportunities that service in the colonies offered to British officials eager for ennoblement. In fact, although the imperialist expansion of the period between 1880 and 1914 undoubtedly was used to consolidate the domination of the ruling classes in some countries, notably Germany, it was also a means for the middle classes to strengthen their own power. In Britain it was the Birmingham businessman Joseph Chamberlain who was the active exponent of the new imperialism and not the aristocrat Lord Salisbury. It was not the Prussian Junkers who called for colonies and a large navy but the shipbuilders, merchants, and financiers who thought they were likely to do well out of them. While the old aristocracy still played its part in providing viceroys and titled patrons for patriotic associations, the imperialist movement was perhaps a symptom of the extent to which they were losing control as a new class was taking over. One should not complain if a book that ranges so boldly over so many fields omits an important area of historical investigation; but a work that sets out to provide a new theoretical framework for the analysis of European society before 1914 is less convincing if it does not attempt to account for the imperialism which was one of the most significant social and political phenomena of the age and which affected so many aspects of European life.

This is a bold, learned, and provocative book. Its ambitious attempt to provide a new theoretical framework for the analysis of European society before 1914 deserves respect and is a welcome change from the dry positivism of much contemporary Anglo-American historical writing. If it fails to convince, it is because any attempt to explain in terms of one model something as complex as Europe before World War I, with its differing cultural traditions, varieties of political practice and social organization, and uneven pace of economic development, is an effort beyond the capacity of a single historian or sociologist, even if he had the synoptic genius of a Karl Marx.

James Joll

James Joll is Stevenson Professor of International History at the University of London.

The Perils of Prediction

The Reign of ETS: The Corporation that Makes up Minds by Allan Nairn and associates introduction by Ralph Nader

(Learning Research Projects; $30, $5 summary)

Standardized testing is nothing new. In ancient China tax collectors were chosen by subjecting hopefuls to a rigorous battery of examinations covering the subtleties of Confucian texts. Harvard College, in its youth, admitted students who were best able to recall the seven bays of Abyssinia and the intricacies of Latin grammar. Archeologists, no doubt, will discover one day that pre-literate societies used cave painting competitions to determine which of the elders was to wield the mammoth jaw-bone in the hunt.

Standardized examinations as admissions criteria to valued social positions have diverse social effects. Such exams can promote the general development of the skills they test, be these in Confucian religion, classical culture, aesthetic sensitivity, or chemical engineering. Moreover, insofar as these skills are socially valued, meritocratic testing legitimates social inequality in a way that nepotism, lottery, coercion, and other "arbitrary" mechanisms cannot. If these skills are relevant to social and economic performance, testing im-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proves social efficiency. The catch, however, is that the choice of exam content can screen out groups and individuals repugnant to the leading classes in society. Peasants clearly have little occasion to learn Confucius, nor the average citizen, Latin grammar.

The meteoric rise of standardized testing in the US since World War II boasts a venerable lineage. Virtually every aspirant to training in one of the modern professions, from grade school teacher to actuary to physician, will pass through one or more standardized tests. Most of these will be given under the auspices of the Educational Testing Service, and will be used by the admissions offices in institutions of professional training. On the scientific rationality and objectivity of these examinations the testing experts sound confident. In a 1974 speech at Columbia University, ETS president William W. Turnbull put the claim boldly; "The evidence about academic success is no longer a subject of legitimate dispute. The studies have been widespread, they number in the thousands, and the results are consistent. By and large, the higher the test scores, the more successful students are in college."

Despite this supposedly uniform evidence, the Association of Black Psychologists, surely as aware of the "facts" as any organization, called for a complete moratorium on standardized testing as early as 1969. Since then responsible opposition to ETS and its sister testing services has increased, culminating in recent years in the entry of Ralph Nader and his associates into the fray. The reason, as Nader co-worker Allan Nairn makes clear in his new Nader Report, *The Reign of ETS: The Corporation that Makes up Minds*, is straightforward: existing standardized tests, most of which are the products of ETS research teams, are socially biased. Blacks and Spanish-speaking minorities, students of lower social class background, and older students seeking to update their education consistently score lower than their white, affluent, or younger counterparts.

Nader is of course better known as the protector of the consumer interests than as a crusader for social equality; and the Nader Report consistently presents the problem of ETS as one of misrepresentation of the product to the consumer of its services. The relevant consumers of ETS examinations are students, admissions offices, and the general public that must bear the effects of possible "false advertising."

Social equality aside, were ETS's Medical College Admissions test (MCAT) a true indicator of the future clinical capacity of a physician, or the Law School Admissions Test (LSAT) a good predictor of legal ability, Nairn, Nader, and associates would be compromised in their criticism. What then is the real issue?

The dilemma of standardized testing is simple and stark: since the US economy is both unequal and relatively unproductive, objective educational admissions criteria correct the latter only at the expense of the former. The relative economic position of blacks and other minorities, which improved dramatically in the 1960s, has retreated to its pre-civil rights movement levels. The US income distribution is among the most unequal in the industrialized world, and our social welfare programs fail to redress this condition. On the other hand, the current economic crisis is above all a crisis of productivity. American labor productivity (output per hour of labor), at parity with other advanced industrial nations over most of the post-World War II period, has fallen to one-third its normal rate in the past 15 years. Projected two or three decades in the future, this decline spells the end of the American presence in the international economic order, not to mention a lower standard of living.

Standardized tests, their proponents argue, promote the application of educational resources to the most productive individuals, thus ultimately streamlining the economic machine. To curtail standardized testing at a time like this, they suggest, is a step toward what *Business Week* has recently labeled "lemon socialism"; the protection of economically obsolescent regions, industries, firms, and individuals in the interests of an elusive "social equality." The upshot, as American conservatives are quick to point out, is a bitter form of equality—everyone is more or less equally poor.

Nairn, Nader, and their co-workers meet these concerns head on, arguing that the predictive value of college and professional school admissions tests is questionable in the extreme. Indeed, the Nader Report includes a long, statistically sophisticated, and professionally competent assessment of the empirical justification of college entrance exams. Their conclusion: "ETS's claims about the aptitude test can perhaps best be described as a specialized variety of fraud."

In tackling the Educational Testing Service, our public defenders are confronting an adversary in many ways more formidable than their old nemesis, General Motors. ETS is a non-profit and prestigious organization, formed after World War II by the Carnegie Foundation, the American Council on Education, and the College Entrance Examination Board, headed by Henry Chauncy, former dean of Harvard College. Its trustees have included Thomas J. Watson Jr., president of IBM, Howard L. Shepard, chairman of the board of First National City Bank, as well as directors of other prominent businesses. If these credentials seem more corporate than professional, observe: more than a third of the members of the American Psychological Association's recent guidelines committee on test construction and use had at one time or another been on ETS's payroll or board, and a third of the individuals identified by the APA in 1975 as "most influential in higher education" had past or present connections with ETS.

Despite this impressive array of professional support for ETS, the empirical claims of the Nader Report demand the most careful attention. The report itself stresses that professional opinion has been by no means unanimous in support of ETS's claims. The report asserts:

> Perhaps most striking was our finding that for years many insiders had been criticizing the status quo, challenging the official line and recommending changes. Yet, so dominant and profitable a status has been accorded the reign of ETS that a wall of resistance and strong peer group bonding enveloped [*sic*] to suppress the voices advocating constructive change.

I can personally attest to this "wall of resistance," as many of the same findings were reported in *Schooling in Capitalist America*, which I co-authored with Samuel Bowles, as well as in Christopher Jencks's massive study, *Who Gets Ahead?* None of these findings has im-

"FOR WHATEVER small credit he may be entitled to, Stephen Judy admitted that he deserved death. But what can be said of the protestors who stood outside the prison singing 'We shall overcome'? Apart from a moral exhibitionism, what have they shown the world of normal people? None of them was on hand to sing for Judy's victims; and it may be that Judy died nearer to grace than they will."

For a free copy of the current issue of National Review, write to Dept. R—6, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pelled the testing establishment to take notice, reply, defend itself, or change.

I will present only a few of the more important statistical findings of the Nader Report. The interested reader can easily follow this up on his or her own—Nairn's presentation of difficult statistical material is admirably accessible to the lay reader.

WE MAY BEGIN by asking how well standardized tests predict economic success. Not well at all. The SAT performs about 15 percent better than chance in predicting first year college grades, and about one-fourth this well in predicting senior grades. High school grades alone are from one to four times as accurate, and have the added benefit of representing the effort of a student over not the few hours of a formal exam, but the several years of high school experience.

Colleges of course use both grades and test scores in their admissions policies. But the test scores are given clear primacy. For instance, in 1976-77, half the applicants who earned an "A" average through four years of college but who scored below 500 on the three and one-half hour Law School Admissions Test were rejected by every accredited law school to which they applied. Thus it is fair to ask, how much additional predictive power does a standardized test enjoy over high school grades alone? Studies show this to be on the order of only two to five percent, at least for the SAT. Grades, on the other hand, are not nearly so social class biased as standardized tests.

But what is so important about college and professional school grades anyway? Certainly most Americans believe there to be a strong correlation between academic performance and adult success. This is far from accurate, and in fact is one of the scientifically refutable myths on which the legitimacy of our "meritocratic" society is based. Innumerable studies show that grades in college and professional schools (law, engineering, medicine) have virtually no relation to job performances.

Far more important than college grades is simply "persistence"—the ability to complete a program of study once it is begun. Nairn reports, however, that in predicting who will graduate from college, SAT scores are only 3.2 percent better than chance for men and 2.9 percent better for women, while the performance of the LSAT in predicting law school graduation and the Graduate Record Examination (GRE) in predicting the attainment of the PhD are only marginally better.

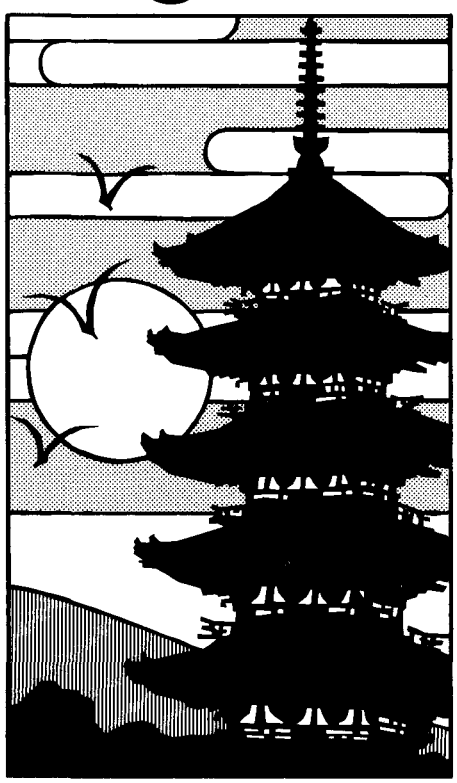
In short, these standardized tests are little better than throwing dice in their predictive value. Thus they are to be criticized on two quite distinct grounds. First, they are socially biased and nearly arbitrary vis-à-vis individual performance, while enjoying little intrinsic merit on the grounds of promoting social productivity and efficiency. Second, the complacency of the testing establishment with respect to these truths prevents them from fulfilling their real social obligation: developing accurate performance-oriented measures of institutional and individual achievement.

This last point deserves special emphasis. One of the merits of *The Reign of ETS* is its insistence that the inequality built into existing standardized tests is not the price that must be paid for a more efficient and objective process. Another is its wise decision not to denigrate testing in general, but rather to urge behavioral scientists to develop valuable instruments of assessment:

> Ending the reign of ETS means adopting other, broader, more diverse approaches to assessing individual performance and enabling diagnosis, evaluation and correction. This . . . leads to a multi-criteria, multi-cultural array of evaluations, which can tap the untapped unique talents of diverse individuals, and away from the false precision of the ETS testing culture.

While demanding such a reorientation on the part of the testing community may be a tall order, it is not the most difficult problem. Central to the complacency of testers is their very conception of the adequacy of exams themselves: predictive validity. Simply stated, an exam that predicts with accuracy significantly greater than chance is considered a valid test instrument for assigning individuals to social positions (e.g., entrance to college). This criterion, however, is not that employed in the legal interpretation of the rights of individuals. We do not imprison people because they have statistically higher probabilities of committing crimes, but rather because they have committed crimes. We do not allow people to run for political office because they have a statistically greater than average chance of performing well in office. Why then ought we to allow people to matriculate simply on the

Small Ad for a Big Tour of the Orient



Japan Air Lines has 35 very special tours to the Orient. Come, let us take you to the Orient of your dreams.
Here is but one example:
Grand Japan, a spectacular 17-day journey, $4040. Visit Tokyo, Nikko, Lake Hakone, Kobe, Beppu, Hiroshima, Kyoto. Includes all meals (most à la carte), fully escorted tours. Deluxe hotels.

Rates based on double occupancy and economy air fare from the West Coast and are subject to change. Additional charge for June–October peak season.

CALL TOLL FREE
800-835-2246;* Ext. 145
for free tour information, see your travel agent, or mail this coupon today.
Japan Air Lines, P.O. Box 10618
Long Island City, New York 11101

JAL HAPPY HOLIDAYS
JAPAN AIR LINES

Dear JAL: I've read your small ad and I'd like more details of the tours I've checked.
☐ Grand Japan (4002)
☐ Other Happy Holidays Tours

Name_____
Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____
Travel Agent_____ Key #
*Continental U.S. only. In Kansas: 800-362-2421

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

basis of the statistical probability that they will succeed in school, as opposed to allowing matriculation for all, and depend on performance to determine who will graduate? To my knowledge, the legal and philosophical issues involved in this type of reasoning have not been addressed by the testing community.

It is not at all clear that those involved in making social policy in the United States are up to the challenging task of developing socially relevant test content and criteria. Findings such as Nairn's, Jencks's, and my own and Samuel Bowles's, while firmly rooted in standard empirical methodology, threaten dominant strands of social theory, and demand fresh approaches to persistent social problems. In addition, it would be difficult to overstate how ill-prepared the testing establishment is, in terms of both commitment and availability of professional tools, to contribute to a truly performance-related array of objective entrance examinations, taking into account the full complexity of the occupational structure of the American economy. Yet Nairn's Nader Report would never have even been perceived a dozen years ago as a reputable public document. Much progress has been made, and the test reform movement is still gathering momentum—a momentum it is unlikely to lose as long as it refuses to fall into a simple-minded anti-testing dogmatism.

Herbert Gintis

Herbert Gintis is professor of economics at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

The Mirror of Experience

What Shakespeare Read—and Thought
by A. L. Rowse

(Coward, McCann & Geoghegan; $12.95)

Shakespeare's Division of Experience
by Marilyn French

(Summit Books; $15.95)

Shakespeare and the Problem of Meaning
by Norman Rabkin

(University of Chicago Press; $16)

Like daughters and caskets in Shakespeare's plays, critical readings of the bard tend to come in three varieties. One critic has labeled them: thematic (a play is assumed to be about a general theme), historical (a play is examined for its connections to Renaissance culture and politics), and ironic (a play is taken to mean something different from what it appears to signify). These are old-style critical approaches, which share the currently unfashionable assumption that literature can be said to be "about" something—to *mean* rather than simply to *be*—and what's more, that it is about the real world, not just about itself as a text or about its creator's consciousness. The newer schools of critical theorists, who deny that basic assumption, have generally refrained from trying their techniques on Shakespeare—not, I would guess, out of any special awe of the caliber of traditional criticism that prevails in the field but perhaps out of awe of the poet.

Certainly Marilyn French (better known for her feminist novels than for her literary criticism) and A. L. Rowse do little to enhance the reputation of the old approaches. French offers a thematic reading. Motivated by a rather shrewish animus against men, she traces a drama of conflicting "feminine" and "masculine gender principles" through Shakespeare's oeuvre. A. L. Rowse does his familiar historical routine. Filled with the zest but alas not the keenness of Falstaff, he chats about all the ordinary books the bard would be likely to have read and all the lusty thoughts a man in his circumstance probably would have entertained.

Both Rowse and French are sadly lacking in perspective on their critical endeavors, to say nothing of insight into Shakespeare. According to Rowse,

> purely literary criticism of Shakespeare has nothing more to say; neither has textual criticism; nor the pedantic search for 'sources.' They have all reached a dead end. And all the while the obviously right and rewarding approach, the one that illuminates any writer's work—the life, circumstances and conditions of his time that enter so largely into it—has been neglected or ignored.

I'm not certain what distinguishes "purely literary" from "textual" criticism, but surely neither deserves Rowse's summary dismissal. And there seems little to choose between the "pedantic search for sources" that Rowse disparages and much of his own browsings in Elizabethiana. He has come upon some illuminating facts in his time, but to judge from this book, it is Rowse who has reached a dead end.

Rowse never progresses far beyond his first silly sentence, which is simply a new version of his standard line about the poet: "Everything about William Shakespeare was surprisingly normal—except, of course, his genius." For some time now Rowse has been particularly interested in the sexual aspects of Shakespeare's normality. Here's how he expresses it this time: "Everything about women excited William Shakespeare—he reminds me of a Cornish miner to whom the sight of a woman's bloomers on a clothes-line would give an erection." As for Shakespeare's genius, Rowse offers the novel idea that it consists in his "intensity of imagination," and he awkwardly elaborates:

> Shakespeare had this unparalleled capacity for knocking us out, not only by the intensity of his imagination but by its truth. Perhaps it is a vulgarisation to say that we are knocked out: what it means is that we are faced by a truth about life—what one human being can do to another, the suffering inflicted, the irremediable nature of the ill, the hopelessness, too late, too late, if it were not for compassion and forgiveness—so powerfully that we are shattered by the revelation.

This is not a subtle or enlightening book.

Subtlety also eludes Marilyn French, who like Rowse seems to be misguided about her critical method. One of her

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

premises is that the tendency to divide and schematize experience is among the lamentable attributes of the "masculine gender principle" that has dominated Western thought and society. You might think that such a reductive habit would be precisely the kind that a great artist, even a male one, would transcend, to say nothing of a feminist critic. However, that is not the conclusion French draws. Instead she pays her respects to those critics who have analyzed Shakespeare's work in terms of polarities—of whom there are many, both good and bad—and then proceeds to plod through the plays, subsuming many of those dualisms under her own overarching polarities of feminine and masculine gender principles. She lays out her scheme in daunting detail, positioning her principles on a "gamut." She even devises special terms: there are two kinds of feminine gender principles, an "outlaw" one and an "inlaw" one. The latter kept calling to my mind the image of a carping mother-in-law; unfortunately it's supposed to denote the nurturing, compassionate aspect of the feminine principle, which poses no threat or challenge to the masculine principle. The conclusion to which French's machinations lead her, though very different from Rowse's, is hardly more illuminating:

> Sex itself was an abomination throughout his career (although he seems to have had a respite from such feelings during the composition of certain plays), and because he associated sexuality with women, his hatred for the one is also hatred for the other. However, he also associated with women qualities he admired and which he came increasingly to see as necessary to the "salvation" of the human race.

Norman Rabkin's book, with its academic title and publisher and its little-known professorial author, looks at first glance like the lead casket beside the superficial glitter of the Rowse and French volumes. But *Shakespeare and the Problem of Meaning* turns out to hold the treasure—true to *The Merchant of Venice* test. Rabkin's study, which falls into the ironic category, is the rare commentary that contributes to theoretical critical debate and to practical criticism at the same time.

Rabkin starts out by observing that the best Shakespearean criticism has produced conflicting interpretations of plays. He acknowledges that this indeterminate state of affairs opens the field to the current critical charge that the traditional search for meaning in literary analysis is a fruitless one. However, although Rabkin readily admits (in fact insists) that the plays resist reduction to any one of the many conflicting interpretations critics have offered, he does not want to stop reading for meaning. He argues instead that critics and readers should look beyond the rational, schematic, and reductionist formulations that have constituted critical notions of "meaning" to a more encompassing understanding of what a play signifies. "If one hallmark of an authentic work of art and a central source of its power is its ability to drive us to search out its central mystery," Rabkin suggests, "another may be its ultimate irreducibility to a schema. Both of these qualities are present in Shakespeare's plays. They are there because Shakespeare put them there."

This view does not license vague, impressionistic responses to Shakespeare's work, as Rabkin's own criticism of several plays proves. On the contrary, he rigorously identifies themes and examines the conflicting analyses of other critics. But rather than accepting any of these discrete formulations about a play as the definitive account of it, he steps back to consider them in the context of the total aesthetic process of a play, with its "eddying signals . . . [that] arouse a total and complex involvement of our intellect, our moral sensibility, our need to complete incomplete patterns and answer questions, our longing to judge . . . [an] involvement so incessantly in motion that to pin it down to a 'meaning' is to negate its very essence."

With remarkable grace, Rabkin points out the complexity of these eddying signals and our responses to them in discussions of the tragedies (which he sets against the simplistic adaptations made of them during the Restoration) and the romances. But he rests his general critical argument on more thorough readings of one history, *Henry V*, and one comedy, *The Merchant of Venice*. Rabkin shows how we can read *Henry V* either as the celebration of an ideal monarch or as the revelation of a Machiavellian militarist (as two critical camps have), for Shakespeare substantiates both portraits. But the best audience's reaction, Rabkin suggests, is to shift uneasily between the two paradigms, unsure whether Shakespeare is telling us that the manipulative qualities that make an effective political figure can ever be united with the moral ones that

All This and Hong Kong Too.
Yours at the Merlin.

The Merlin Hotel is strategically located in the heart of Kowloon's famous shopping, business and entertainment district. The spacious rooms have been totally redecorated to suit your comfort and enjoyment. Step out on your balcony and experience the magnificence of Hong Kong's famous harbour. Inside, enjoy the comfort and serenity of home.

For conducting your important business, the Merlin provides a spacious executive lounge, secretarial services and fully equipped offices.

The comforts of home. The convenience of our executive facilities. The splendour of Hong Kong. Yours at the Merlin. Be our honoured guest.

Reservations Toll Free: (800) 223-9868

The Merlin Hotel
No. 2 Hankow Road, Kowloon
Tel: 3-667211 Telex: HX54291
Cable: Merlin in Hong Kong
In New York, call (212) 757-2981

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

make a whole, sympathetic man.

Rabkin explores an even more encompassing ambiguity in *The Merchant of Venice*. Critics have generally agreed on the terms of the play's central conflicts; there's Belmont vs. Venice, Christian vs. Hebrew values, Shylock vs. all the other characters. Yet they have consistently disputed the play's resolution, differing widely in their sympathy for Shylock—not at all the consensus that comedy conventionally elicits. Rabkin argues that

> the power of the play is its power to create the illusions of a life that is like our lives, a world like our world, in which as in our life and our world experience tempts us to believe itself to be reducible to fundamental terms but cannot be adequately analyzed in those terms. . . . The attempt to state the meaning of the play is therefore not much more likely to produce an accurate account than an attempt to state the meaning of life. But to say that we cannot profitably talk about the meaning of life is not to say that life is meaningless. *The Merchant of Venice* is a model of our experience, showing us that we need to live as if life has meanings and rules, yet insisting that the meaning is ultimately ineffable and the rules are provisional.

Rabkin recognizes his affiliation with the New Critics, sharing "their paradoxical interest in scrutinizing the ways in which a literary work means while insisting that the meaning cannot be adequately paraphrased." Yet unlike them, he continually leads us back to the world we live in. He shows the unique power of literary experience to awaken us to a recognition—intellectual, emotional, imaginative, and moral all at once—of the most mysterious qualities of our experience in that world. It should come as no surprise that Shakespeare is the poet who has inspired a critic to argue this truth about life and literature, one which we seem to be in danger of forgetting.

Ann Hulbert

To our readers:

Two of our contributors have published books this month.

Making Scenes: A Personal History of the Turbulent Years at Yale: 1966-1979 by Robert Brustein (Random House; $15)

No Witnesses. Poems by Paul Monette, drawings by David Schorr (Avon; $5.95, paper)

Correspondence, *from page 7*

principal speaker at the meeting was Noam Chomsky.

One is thus left stunned by Chomsky's current claim that he always has been a defender of academic freedom "even for people I regard as authentic war criminals" (The *Nation*, February 28). Does Chomsky suffer from amnesia, or does he believe that intellectual duplicity can form part of a coherent moral stand?

Stephen Morris
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Disinformation

To the editors:

I am sure the March 1 issue of the *AIM Report* (Accuracy in Media), covering Morton Kondracke's article on moles ("Search for Subversion," *TNR*, January 31), has been brought to your attention. I am a retired vice admiral of the US Navy. I have long been aware of disinformation and the enormous extent to which the American media have been duped by it. The case of Orlando Letelier and the whole matter of our disastrous policy toward Chile has been an outstanding example. I am a staunch defender of a free press, so long as it remains a responsible press. Kondracke's article appears to have been a prime example of irresponsibility.

Fitzhugh Lee
Coronado, California

Condescending to Canada

To the editors:

TRB's March 14 column admirably talks about the "aggravatingly patronizing" attitude displayed by most Americans toward our Canadian neighbors. In vivid reconfirmation of his point, he then goes on to refer to former Conservative prime minister Joe Clark as "Ed," no doubt confusing him with his stateside Libertarian namesake. Surely we would "fortify the border" if a major Canadian journal referred to a past American president as, say, "Henry Ford."

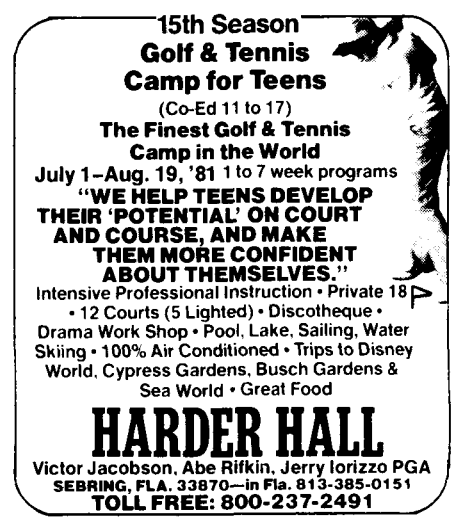
Ernest M. Paicopolos
Medford, Massachusetts

Camp & School DIRECTORY

COLLEGE ADMISSIONS TESTS (SAT, etc.) Intensive summer preparation. Small groups, supportive atmosphere, beautiful surroundings. The Ranch School; Route 1, Box 150 Laneville, TX 75667. (214) 863-5540.

NATURAL SCIENCE CAMP in Ontario. . . . Co-ed, ages 9-14. Serious nature study plus wilderness canoe tripping. Banding birds, collecting minerals, investigating marshes plus swimming and canoeing instruction. Small informal groups. Blue Heron, Box NR, 511 Morris Place, Shillington, PA 19607. (215) 775-2755.

SCHOOL, SKILLS AND FUN, TOO! Camp Shawnee Creek, B-Bar-G, Route 1, Box 150, Laneville, TX 75667; (214) 863-5540.


15th Season
Golf & Tennis
Camp for Teens
(Co-Ed 11 to 17)
The Finest Golf & Tennis
Camp in the World
July 1–Aug. 19, '81 1 to 7 week programs
"WE HELP TEENS DEVELOP
THEIR 'POTENTIAL' ON COURT
AND COURSE, AND MAKE
THEM MORE CONFIDENT
ABOUT THEMSELVES."
Intensive Professional Instruction • Private 18
• 12 Courts (5 Lighted) • Discotheque •
Drama Work Shop • Pool, Lake, Sailing, Water
Skiing • 100% Air Conditioned • Trips to Disney
World, Cypress Gardens, Busch Gardens &
Sea World • Great Food
HARDER HALL
Victor Jacobson, Abe Rifkin, Jerry Iorizzo PGA
SEBRING, FLA. 33870—in Fla. 813-385-0151
TOLL FREE: 800-237-2491

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New Republic Classified

THE NEW REPUBLIC CLASSIFIED IS A WEEKLY FEATURE. Ads are accepted at the discretion of the publisher. Rates: one time ad $1./word, six ads per year $.95/word, 12 ads per year $.90/word, 24 times per year $.85 word, 48 times per year $.80/word. Telephone numbers count as 2 words. P.O. numbers and abbreviations count as one word. Zone numbers and zip codes are not counted. Additional $4.50 for TNR box numbers. Classified display ads are $30/inch. Bold headline, signature and inset available. Complete rate card upon request. Send your check/money order with your copy, or give us your Visa MasterCharge # and we'll charge it to your account. Copy must be received 19 days prior to the Saturday issue date. Phone orders accepted with Visa/MasterCharge only. Send copy or call collect: Theresa Miller, The New Republic Magazine, 1220 19th St., N.W., Washington, DC 20036. (202) 331 7494.

Arts/Crafts

AUDUBON BIRDS

Set of four beautiful prints, reproduced from museum originals, picture size approx. 10" x 12", suitable for framing. Limited quantities. Only $9.95. ALSO—above set mounted on best quality, hand-cut, beveled mats, 16" x 20", different colors, ready to slip into your frames. If you wish same color mats, state you choice. Limited quantities—complete, only $24.95.
—The Galleria, Box 11759, Phoenix, AZ 85061—

Associations

BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY. Information: NR 44, RD 1 Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

Buttons/Bumperstickers

Buttons/Bumperstickers custom printed (union shop). Lowest Movement prices in TWENTY years! Largest variety anti-nuclear and other fund raising items in stock. Free Catalog . . . Call (516) 791-7929. Larry Fox, Box M-4, Valley Stream, NY 11582.

REAGANPHOBES UNITE! Vent your frustration over Reagan's massacre of America's social fiber with this satirical, historically-proven message: "Let 'em Eat Jellybeans/King Ronald I". $1 each; over 10—.80 each. Cash/ Check to: Unite, TNR 9805.

"MEMBER-IMMORAL MINORITY", "U.S. OUT OF EL SALVADOR—NO MORE VIETNAMS", "STOP THE DRAFT", "NO NUKES". Buttons-2/$1.00, 10/$4.00: bumperstickers—$1.00 EACH. 10/$6.00. Ellen Ingber, Box 7520NR, Valley Stream, NY 11582.

"MEMBER-IMMORAL MINORITY", "IMPEACH REAGAN", "STOP THE DRAFT", "NO NUKES". Buttons—2/$1.00, 10/$4.00; bumperstickers—$1.00 EACH, 10/$6.00. Ellen Ingber, Box 7520NR, Valley Stream, NY 11582.

Kennedy's 1980 Convention speech, $1. Each additional copy, $.50. "Member-Immoral-Minority" buttons, large, white on blue, $1. Ten or more, $.85 each. TNR 9780

Clothing

GET OUT OF YOUR JEANS!
HEAVY COTTON DRAWSTRING PANTS
Durable comfort in Natural • SkyBlue • Navy • Pecan
Plum • Black • White —State hip/waist measurements
$15 postpaid · Free Catalogue and swatches.
DEVA Box NX2 Burkittsville, Maryland 21718

Collectables

Rare Newspapers. Colonial-Civil War periods. Genuine, historical reading at lowest prices. Extensive catalogue, 50¢ Hughes, 2410 N. Hills Dr., Williamsport, PA 17701

Colleges/Universities

Non-traditional Doctoral Program. Southeastern University, 5163 DeGaulle Drive, New Orleans, LA 70114.

Employment Opportunities

"Five Steps to Success-fall employment", manual, field tested and validated. $6.95. Vocational Counceling Services, Box 9261, Madison, WI 53715.

Don't accept any job without consulting

INTERNATIONAL EMPLOYMENT HOTLINE

Monthly issues reveal current opportunities for career and temporary overseas employment.

Discover what's waiting for you in the world—and how to get it now!

Send to: International Employment Hotline, 543 Grand Boulevard, Suite AA, Venice, CA 90291

YES! I want HOTLINE information on international employment opportunities. Send me:
☐ $24.50 (US) one-year subscription
☐ $15.00 (US) six-month subscription
☐ $10.50 (US) three-month subscription
Enclosed $_____ ☐ Check ☐ Money Order
(please print)
Name _____
Address _____
City_____ State _____ Zip_____
Send to: International Employment Hotline, 543 Grand Boulevard, Suite AA, Venice, CA 90291

Financial

KRUGERRANDS, MAPLE LEAFS. 1% Commission. 1-800-525-0380.

INVESTMENT NEWSLETTER—concise, practical—$2. C. Ware, P.O. Box 604, Columbia, MD 21045.

SIMPLIFIED GUIDE TO TAX SHELTERS. Report summarizes 36 proven methods. Send $7.50 to Wilbers Associates, Box 176, Alexandria, KY 41001.

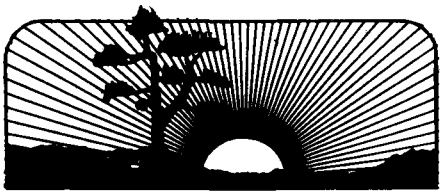
Profitable Sideline! Represent professional service. Write: Financial Planner-Middle Incomes, Room 825, 39 S. LaSalle, Chicago, 60603.

Games

Challenge your mind through the ultimate word game—cryptography. Sample copy $2.50. Cryptography Magazine, Box 641-A, Davis, CA 95617.

Gifts

ZODIAC-Plaques and decorator boxes, handcrafted of exotic woods. Free brochure. Wood Wonders, Fleishmanns, NY 12430.



The Great Escapes

SOUTH AMERICA BOUND? We've got detailed guidebooks, maps for travellers. Europe, Asia too. Send for free catalogue. Bradt Enterprises, 54-R Dudley, Cambridge, MA 02140. (617) 492-8776.

38 DAYS IN EUROPE—$2350, June 19-July 27. Leisurely. Transportation (from NY), hotels, most meals, London, Paris, Rome, Florence, Venice, Alps, Riviera, Loire Chateaux, Burgundy, Normandy. RICHARD BROTHERS, University Box 2710, Fayettville, Arkansas 72701.

CHINA BOUND? Speak fast, official Chinese, Field-tested phrase book in *new*, Romanized *Mandarin*. Extensive vocabulary. Thirty pages $4.50. Borderline Publishing, 222 Melrose, Texarkana, TX 75501.

FLORIDA/BAHAMAS/NEW ENGLAND—Discount on charters July 5-Dec. 15. Sail or power, 26'-126', bareboat or captained. ISLAND CHARTERS, P.O. Box 533, Miami, FL 33133. (305) 858-5992.

UNSPOILED VACATION SPOT: hilltop house, privacy, spectacular views, cooling breezes; National Park; watersports, bird-watching, St. John, V.I. Summer vacancies $400/week. Koumans, 33 Valley Road, Arlington, MA 02174.

ATTN: World Travelers

At last! A monthly publication for the frequent globetrotter. Latest news on customs, currency, laws, air fares, charters. Columns on cruises, sports, lodging, tours, shopping, health, solo travel, dining, wines, art, photography and much more. Observations by our readers exchanging the good and the bad. We "tell it like it is." One-year subscription only $9.97. Your satisfaction is guaranteed. **International Travel News, 2120 28th St., #283, Sacramento, CA 95818.**

Help Wanted

Non-profit foreign policy organization in NYC seeks secretary with good skills. Exciting work. Call (212) 759-7737.

SHY PERSONS GUIDE TO GETTING JOBS. Success in job interviews, $4.00. Wild Lake Press, P.O.Box 2129, Columbia, MD 21045.

Pretty, young, Housekeeper-Manager wanted for small resort. Work hard half the year, have fun the rest. Inherit everything. Moontide, Rt. 1, Box 1990, Santa Rosa Beach, FL 32459. (904) 267-2394.

Instruction

SLEEP-LEARNING tapes, books! Strange catalog free Autosuggestion, Box 24-NR, Olympia, WA 98507.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Literature

INSPIRATIONAL REVIEW. New spiritual concepts. Holistic principles. Annual subscription $18. Single issue $5. Free information. Box 5610-NR, Los Angeles 90055.

THOUSANDS OF CHILDREN and adults are, yearly, made seriously ill by plants. "Poisonous Plants" describes over 200 poisonous plants frequently found in the house and yard. $3.50, Safeguard Press, 1611 Mound Rd., Jacksonville, IL 62650. Excellent Shower Gift.

Fruits of a Flower—Poetry of life, love, and reality. $4.00. Box 4361, Baltimore, MD 21223.

Music

BURTON HARPSICHORDS, SPINETS, AND CLAVICHORDS—Professional instruments in kit and completed forms. For brochure, write Burton Harpsichords, 4921 N. 57th, P.O. Box 80222N, Lincoln, Nebraska 68501.

Personal

Joann Dearest—Wishing you the happiest birthday ever. Always—J.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA: Warm fellowship and serious Biblical exposition at Reformed Heritage Chapel, 942-7010 or 823-3047.

Woman, 40's, Baltimore/DC area, wants to meet man Humorous and Scrupulous. TNR 9795.

Man, published writer and musician, 50, employed in law firm, wishes to meet a woman with humor, compassion and maturity. New York City. TNR 9800.

UNATTACHED? Meet sincere, literate singles—anywhere. Call DATELINE-free 800-451-3245

GAY? Meet intelligent, interesting people. Quick-Confidential-Legitimate. Call now. Steve (212) 232-5500. Nationwide.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS get the cultured, single, widowed or divorced acquainted. Nationwide. Write Box AE, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania 19081. Established 1970 [or call (215) 566-2132].

FINE ARTS NETWORK helps cultural singles find each other. Nationwide music, literature, art lovers. Information? S.S.A.E:—Box 4714RM, Cleveland, OH 44126.

THE ARTS WORLD—Interesting cultured singles-Box 661, Staten Island, NY 10314.

Property Sale/Rent

Northeast Kingdom, Danville, Vermont. 123 acres or smaller surveyed acreage. Five miles from 191 exit. Wooded and open land, stream, 1 mile road frontage. Excellent building site. $75,000. (617) 965-2281 or (802) 748-3370.

Spanish Villa Costa del Sol. 2 bedrooms and baths, kitchen, sun deck and private garden. Weekly maid and linens. ½ block Mediterranean, heat and air cond. Restaurant and groceries nearby. Reasonable rental. TNR 9810.

Provincetown, Cape Cod: Near beach. One bedroom, three bedroom cottage units. Patrician, 403 Commercial St., Provincetown, MA (617) 487-1974.

Woodbury, Vermont. 113 Acres. Wooded and open. Brook, road frontage, surveyed. $50,000. Patricia Whitcomb, West Glover, Vermont. (802) 755-6234.

Recipes

OLD LOUISIANA FAMILY OYSTER RECIPES (2). $1.00, SASE. "Oysters", 6424 Worchester, New Orleans, LA 70126.

ULTIMATE HORS D'OEUVRES. Five, some quick, easy. Some worth the effort. $1, SASE: Wolin, 2990 East Derbyshire, Cleveland, OH 44118.

California Casseroles, 6 cheese, meat, fish, chicken, $3. Good Times Enterprises, P.O. Box 2545, San Francisco 94126.

12 easy single father recipes for entertaining. $2.00, SASE: MYU, P.O. Box 72, Boswell, PA 15531

PECAN FUDGE PIE: A chocolate lover's dream! $1.00, SASE. Just Desserts, 18 Webb Rd., Westport, CT 06880.

Religion

Old Testament, New Testament! Now the Future Testament, a modern book you can believe in. *The Handbook Universal.* $3.00 from Evilsiser & Midnight Publishing Company, P.O.Box 154, Columbus, OH 43216.

49 Biblical Contradictions, $3.00. DISCOVERY, Box 20331-NR, West Valley, UT 84120.

HOW TO REFUTE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES: A Jewish Handbook. $8.95 incl. shipping. Catalog of Jewish books, $1.00 refunded with order. Judaica U.S.A., P.O. 513-FL, Brookline Village, MA 02147.

Services

TRANSLATE MEMOIRS, DIARIES, LETTERS FROM YIDDISH/HEBREW. Research community /family history. NAJS, 5528 Raleigh St., Pittsburgh, PA 15217.

T-Shirts

"DO IT REAGAN'S WAY, SCREW SOMEBODY POOR TODAY" T-shirts, $7.50 ppd. Specify S,M, X,XL. Write: T-Attoyac, P.O.Box 4112, Austin, TX 78765.

Vacation/Travel

INEXPENSIVE GUATEMALAN VACATION for the cultural adventurer. Live with middle-class family, study Spanish at nearby linguistic school. 'Guatemaya' Registry, Box 43R, Seaford, NY 11783.

Save on Luxury Cruise! (passenger ship or freighter). How? Ask Travltips, 163-09 Depot D514, Flushing, NY 11358.

UNSPOILED VACATION SPOT: hilltop house, privacy, spectacular views, cooling breezes; National Park; watersports, birdwatching, St. John, V.I. Summer vacancies $400/week. Koumans, 33 Valley Road, Arlington, MA 02174.

Wanted

Trying to build Big Mac. Need #500. Will split prize. Leshin, 348B Foster Dr., Willimantic, CT 06226.

LEWIS CARROLL contributed 'Chortle' and 'Galumph' to the language. Have you any original coinings? Am compiling dictionary of new words—will credit contributions. Send with name and definition to: Box AL, Swarthmore, PA 19081.

Etc.

Anyone interested learning how to sleep less or not at all, write: A. Bradford, 3511 So. 172, Seattle 98188.

WINNING ELECTIVE OFFICE—Indispensible, detailed, professional campaign strategy manual—used successfully school board to Congress . . . Plan for 1982 . . . $10.00. CAMPAIGN RESEARCH, P.O. Box 5164, Portland, OR 97208.

CULTURGRAMS: 4-page cultural summaries on over 70 cultures. Send legal-sized, self-addressed, stamped envelope for complimentary Culturgram and publications list. Write BYU/LRC, 210 B-24, Provo, UT 84602.

Sell It, Rent It, Trade It, Find It

When you place your ad in The New Republic classifieds, you place your ad in front of over 250,000 readers for $1.00 a word per issue or $30 per column inch for camera ready copy. If you would like TNR to prepare a display ad for you, call for free estimates. If you've never advertised in our classified section before, you're eligible for our "3 FOR 2" INTRODUCTORY OFFER! Pay for two insertions and we'll throw in the third one FREE. *(Further rate information on preceding page.)*

Send check/money order or MasterCard/Visa # along with ad copy. Phone orders accepted with MasterCard/Visa only. Send copy or call collect: Theresa Miller, The New Republic, 1220 19th St., NW, Washington, DC, 20036. (202) 331-7494.

I'LL DO IT! Enclosed is prepayment along with my ad copy. Please run my ad _____ times.

_____

_____

_____

_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Traveling Diarist

Acid Test

I've been had, and by an Episcopal church, no less. The church is St. Bartholomew's, possibly the poshest in New York, at 51st and Park, a block from the Waldorf, one step from Rome. Some time ago I was asked to read the lesson from Scripture at a Sunday morning service. My caller told me that the Anglican bishop of Jerusalem would be preaching and mumbled some vague verbiage about ecumenism and the "good works" done in the Holy City by a foundation of which I am chairman. I agreed, but only after eliciting an assurance that the bishop would preach religion, not politics—anti-Israel politics, to be exact. On the appointed Sunday, I read my verses from Exodus. Even though the modernizers have already done their number on *The Book of Common Prayer*, the service proceeded with a dignity only slightly marred by the boisterous geniality of the rector. Then came the bishop's turn. Faik I. Haddad could have been a churchman out of Daumier. His mauve vestment over frothy white, amply girthed, double-chinned, heavily joweled, pushing a stubby index finger into the air for emphasis, the bishop sweated copiously in the cool and cavernous church. He was nervous. With a quick gloss on Isaiah, he had launched not simply a political tirade, but a torrent of lies: high-rise buildings on ancient religious sites, archaeology distorting the city's diverse patrimony, thousands of his Arab-Anglican flock ("All had been rich") now desperately poor and in refugee camps. These were the kinds of lies told by those who'd been only too pleased to keep Jews out of sacred Jerusalem from 1948 to 1967 and who now go around saying it is a city for all mankind. The stuff about Haddad's exiled flock is especially illuminating. Everyone who had an orange tree claims it was an orchard. Apparently there had been no poor among the Arab Anglicans. Such memories are not altogether preposterous. This was the church of the resident English and, after World War I, of those Arabs so Anglophilic that they'd no longer slouch toward Mecca but preen toward Canterbury. At the peak of the church's popularity, all the Anglicans of mandate Palestine could have met in convention in a linen closet. Their exodus actually began after the Arab riots in 1936. In the 19 years after 1948, when Islam actually governed in the Old City, the Christian population was in steady decline, and Christian churches were under continuous pressure. So why, now that these processes have been reversed and religious liberties restored under meticulous Israeli rule, does a Christian cleric so libel the Jews? I called an Episcopal priest I know, one savvy in the international politics of his church, told him what had happened at St. Bart's, and asked for an explanation. He said, "To the extent that Haddad may be a believing Christian, he's got the ambivalent attitudes many Christians still have toward the Jews who refuse the word. . . . More to the point, however, Haddad is a Palestinian nationalist, an extremist, in fact. Under the purple vestment, it was a PLO partisan who spoke from the pulpit at St. Bart's." That explained the presence of the PLO delegation to the UN at the service and at the little reception following. Dr. Terzi, whom television viewers would recognize as the man who produces facile justifications for the murder of Israeli children, was all smiles. He raised a glass, "To Jerusalem." I asked the rector, Reverend Bowers, how he felt about his church preaching love while hosting folk who practice—strategically and boastfully—murder. He apologized for my discomfort. I told him I was easily appeased, but not so the truth.

At Chicago's Spertus College last week, with an hour to spare between appointments, I saw an exhibit, "Danzig 1939." It is the stirring record of a destroyed Jewish community. In late 1937 some elders of the community had proposed a mass migration from the city whose "free" status was guaranteed by the League of Nations. A year later, with the world cowed by the Nazis, the exodus was officially under way, and the treasures of 500 years of Jewish life in Danzig were en route to New York. The National Endowment for the Humanities has done well to help mount this evidence of Jewish foresight and Christian indifference. The Danzig experience also sheds light on the question raised anew by Walter Laqueur's *The Terrible Secret*: when did the world know? The Jews of Danzig knew their fate before it happened, before *Kristallnacht* really, and certainly long before the war. In a shattering essay included in the exhibit's catalogue, the German novelist Günter Grass, who grew up in pre-war Danzig, writes: "I never heard a single prayer on behalf of the persecuted Jews." Perhaps prayers were said for the Jews at St. Bart's.

Lest you think the US is the only emporium where the Saudis are shopping for arms, allow me to call your attention to the transaction now contemplated in Bonn for 300 Leopard tanks. The Germans, blunter folks than we Americans, are not pretending that these superlative tanks might be needed against the Russians or the Yemenis. They know that if the Leopard is fielded in battle it's most likely to do action against the Israelis. For obvious reasons, that is still something of a problem for the Germans—but not, I would wager, an insurmountable problem. For, as one high official in Bonn is widely quoted as saying, "the sale is an 'acid test' of German-Saudi relations." Acid tests, litmus tests: how many such tests can the Saudis impose on the world? I believe that the sale of these Leopards to the Saudis would be an acid test of German-Jewish relations.

Noam Chomsky, you'll remember from my comments here (*TNR*, January 3) and his letter (*TNR*, February 14), is actively defending Robert Faurisson's right to teach. Faurisson is a professor at the University of Lyons whose scholarship is devoted to proving that the Holocaust never happened. Now I hear that a partner in the Chicago law firm Kirkland & Ellis is defending *pro bono* someone who helped make it happen. In our system, everybody who's in trouble with the authorities has a right to defense. That also applies to the Ukrainian who shoveled Jews into gas chambers at Treblinka and as a result now faces deportation from the US for crimes committed during World War II. Ordinarily an indigent defendant is assigned an attorney from the bench. I wonder what prompts a fancy lawyer to volunteer his services to this particular indigent. It's the same problem I have with Chomsky. There's no dearth of people whom the process may be shortchanging. But here are two Nazi types—one who refuses to believe there ever were ghoulishly busy people like the other—and it is they who have touched the chords of solidarity, the first in a nutsy left-wing professor, the second in a well-paid counselor of the rich.

M.P.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nobody's tougher on saving energy than Amoco is on itself

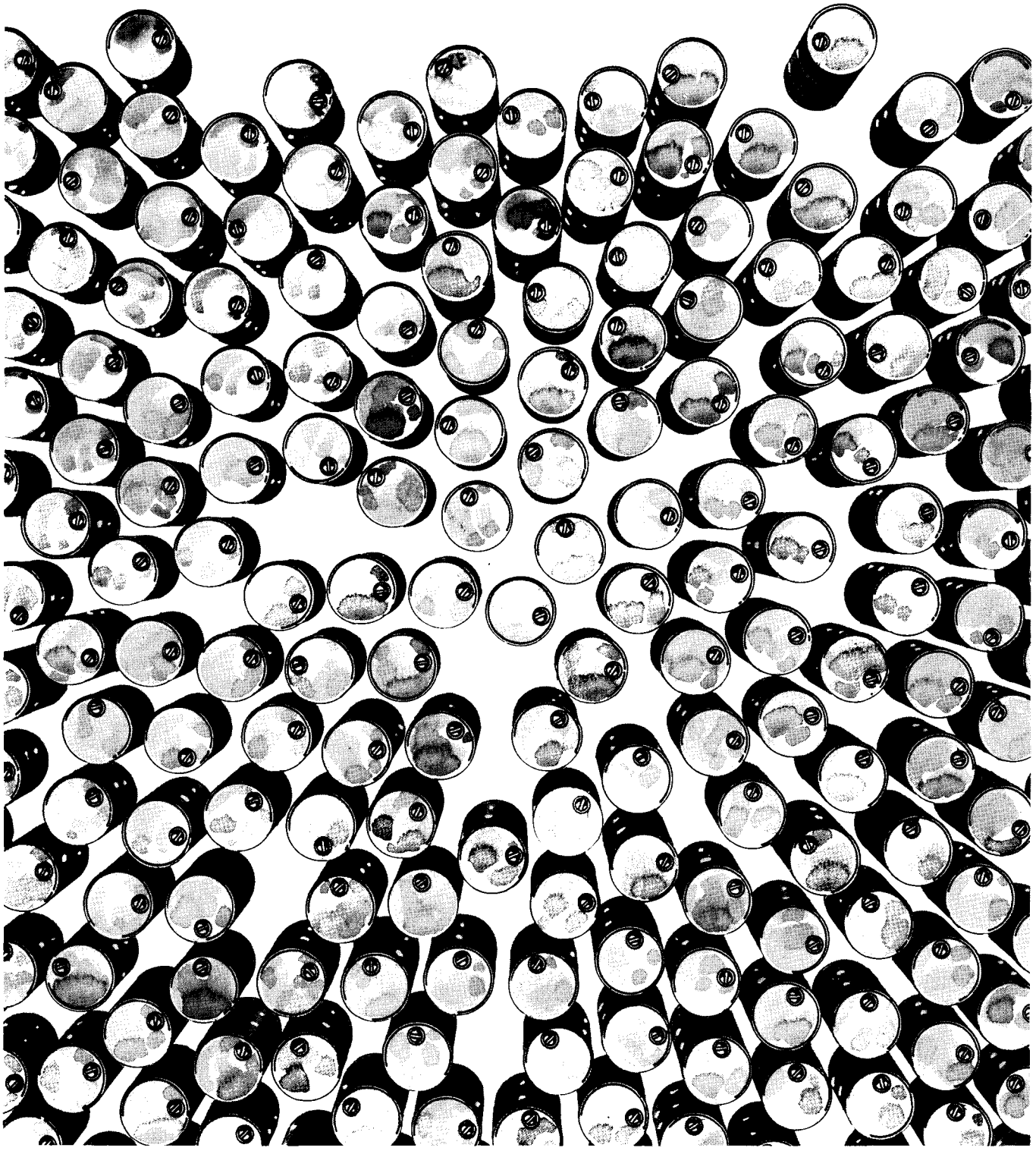
Energy conservation is a daily, operational effort at every Amoco facility. Amoco has achieved a 22 percent reduction in energy used per unit of product produced, compared to energy consumed in the early 1970s. This is approximately like saving 15 million barrels of crude oil per year, nearly the total of foreign oil imported to the United States in two days.

Conservation methods ranged from recapturing and utilizing waste heat to trimming 1,000 pounds of non-vital steel from Amoco's product transport trucks.

Conservation is a potentially huge national resource that can help save the energy needed to keep America running strong in the year 2000 and beyond.

AMOCO

You expect more from a leader.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED